The idea of Europe in Contemporary European Cinema

Liz, Mariana Vinagre

Awarding institution:
King's College London

THE IDEA OF EUROPE IN

CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN CINEMA

Mariana Vinagre Liz

PhD in Film Studies

This thesis has benefitted from the financial support of FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, doctoral grant SFRH/BD/43258/2008, part of the QREN-POPH, co-financed by the European Social Fund and the Portuguese Ministry of Education and Science.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the idea of Europe – especially as understood by the European Union (EU) – and how it is explored in contemporary European film. Raising polarised views, Europe is a key theme in contemporary society. At the same time, European cinema has become a particularly engaging object of study with the growing interest in the transnational. Combining an examination of both topics, this thesis is structured in two sections. The first part explores the notion of Europe, through an analysis of scholarly work, EU official documentation and interviews with policy-makers at the European Commission. I consider in particular the MEDIA programme, the EU's major initiative in support of film. The second part of the thesis is devoted to a contextual and textual examination of a selected corpus of films supported by MEDIA, asking what idea of Europe these represent and construct. Chapters are centred on case studies grouped in two areas: history and memory on the one hand (mainly in heritage films) and spatial and social conceptions of today's Europe on the other (primarily in realist dramas). Aiming to foster a sense of belonging, the EU's idea of Europe relies on positive values and emotions, as well as on the notions of quality, prestige and artistic value, which constitute the basis for a new European community. The idea of Europe that emerges in contemporary European film is defined by a series of oppositions, between the national and the transnational, art and commerce, thought and emotion. My analysis reveals a complex and contradictory picture of Europe and European cinema, highlighting these concepts' changing character in an increasingly globalised world.

Table of Contents

Table of Illustrations

Table of Tables

Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to write this thesis without the help and guidance of numerous people. First, I would like to express my gratitude to FCT for their financial support. I wish to thank everyone who spoke to me at the European Commission, including those who have asked to remain anonymous, as well as Inês Sérvulo Correia, Maria Margarida Gameiro and the late Diogo Vasconcelos for helping me to arrange interviews with key policy-makers. Pedro Borges, Marta Fernandes and Luís Apolinário informally discussed the MEDIA programme with me and their contribution was most helpful. Friends were a constant source of support, especially Filipa Rosário, Marta Lisboa, Cristina Nunes, Filipa Alegria, Catarina Mendes, Joana Lima, Inês Tércio and Anita Faria. I would like to thank Jimmy Hay for reading segments of this thesis and providing encouraging feedback. I am particularly thankful to Olga Kourelou for being such a positive colleague and, above all, friend. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Ginette Vincendeau and Jan Palmowski. I would not have been able to complete this thesis if it had not been for Ginette's endless patience and kindness and I am exceptionally grateful to her. Finally, I wish to thank my family for their continuous support; this thesis is dedicated to "Os Quatro".

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is devoted to the idea of Europe in European cinema. As such, it is situated at the crossroads of two distinct, yet related fields: Europe as a concept – especially as defined by the European Union (EU) – and contemporary European film.

Featuring more and more on the news (either in positive or negative terms), Europe is a central topic of debate in today's public sphere; it is a key idea to understand the 21st century, with its first decade offering a vivid picture of the disparity of responses it provokes and the dramatic changes its perception has undergone. In the early 2000s, the widespread enthusiasm for a project aimed at the democratic and peaceful integration of different peoples, in economic, political and cultural terms, was epitomised by the adoption of the single currency, the expansion of the Schengen area (effectively creating a borderless continent extending to a number of Eastern European countries joining the EU in its widest enlargement ever) and the launching of the EU's Culture programme (with a budget of over €230 million). But at the time of writing, ten years later, Europe is highly questioned as the financial crisis and immigration (in public discourse) and accounts of Euro-centrism in a post-colonial context (in academic writing) are at the core of its strongest critiques, in political and theoretical terms.

Nevertheless, or perhaps because of such polarising dichotomy, there is massive evidence for the importance of the concept, not least in the work of the EU. Regardless of its shortcomings, no political union in the world can be compared to the one developing in Europe. Its vitality can be observed both internally (as it proceeds with the negotiations for the accession of prospective members) and

externally: the EU is the newest member of the G8, the survival of the euro being the main issue at the meeting that took place in Maryland in May 2012, as well as a leading actor in the development of international legislation on areas such as climate change and human rights. The fact that Europe is extensively discussed denotes that the concept carries implications for our society as a whole. Being used by so many different stakeholders, Europe's definition, however, remains essentially vague, especially from a cultural perspective. As such, important questions still need to be asked about its meaning, significance and contemporary relevance.

Likewise, European cinema not only occupies a central place in film history, it is also a field that has been raising more interest with the expanding work on transnational cinema. European films demonstrate the emergence of a true international communicative sphere; they circulate across borders because of their ability to engage people in different countries, mirroring a pan-European society. Simultaneously, the industrial aspects that characterise European cinema at the turn of the 20th century – how films are made (for instance, financed by co-production agreements), distributed (through specialised networks such as those devoted to independent cinema or, at the other end of the market spectrum, internationally run multiplexes) and consumed (in what countries they premiere, what is the role of language and genre in their reception and how the latter varies across borders) – raise questions about contemporary film practices more generally. As a film industry existing in a complex network of market forces and state subsidies, European cinema also proves a particularly relevant object of study for the understanding of institutional frameworks, policies and initiatives in support of the audiovisual sector.

Having these two areas of concern as its backdrop, this thesis asks what idea of Europe emerges, is represented and potentially constructed by contemporary

European cinema. How do films contribute to the depiction and formation of cultural ideas about Europe both as texts and as products that circulate in a transnational market? At stake is also our understanding of the role state and political institutions play in the promotion of the audiovisual industries and of cinema in particular. What is the actual influence of the EU on the European film industry, as well as on cultural conceptions of contemporary European society? The first half of this thesis (Chapters 1 and 2) is concerned with the meaning of Europe and its cinema; comprising Chapters 3 and 4, the second half is devoted to analysing a range of films. Before moving on to the project itself, I first need to contextualise the two main fields within which my enquiry is situated, the idea of Europe on the one hand, and European cinema on the other. My methodology, approach and main questions are also presented in the coming pages.

Europe as a concept

This thesis aims to clarify what the idea of Europe stands for exactly. This is the main goal of Chapter 1. Divided into two sections, the chapter offers first a historical and then an institutional account of the idea of Europe. In the first part, I look at the development of this notion, from its emergence as a political concept in the late 1950s (matching the beginning of the European integration process) to the 1980s, when the first EU initiatives to support the arts and culture were launched. I also examine the greater attention devoted to the concept at the beginning of the 21st century. Considering different approaches and disciplines, Chapter 1 asks how Europe is positioned in the face of external and internal "others" and to what extent such oppositional definitions have changed in time. Concepts such as Euro-centrism and universality are rethought, as a traditionally perceived cosmopolitan Europe

looks for its place in a new global order.

The second half of this chapter turns to the contribution made specifically by the EU to the understanding of the idea of Europe. Official documents, including the Declaration on European Identity, the Maastricht Treaty and the project for a European constitution, feature in an investigation that questions the validity of concepts such as identity, citizenship and diversity in the European integration process and that is especially concerned with their usage today.

Combining a scholarly with a political perspective, the first part of the thesis relies on a diversified methodology. On the one hand, it surveys the literature concerned with the meaning of Europe emerging in the humanities and social sciences. On the other, it examines a vast number of EU publications, found in specialised archives, namely the European Documentation Centre based at the London School of Economics. Supported by the European Commission, there are over 400 of such centres in universities and research institutes across Europe, containing materials such as the Official Journal of the European Union and the Bulletin of the European Union, as well as minutes of sessions in the European Parliament and meetings of the European council – all of which are remarkably relevant for an examination of the institutional frameworks and political action of the EU.

Online resources were crucial in locating some of the key historical documents in the history of European integration. In addition to EU websites, in particular the pages for the European Commission and the European Parliament, the website of the Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe (www.cvce.eu) was particularly useful for my investigation, as it contained documents such as the Declaration on European Identity signed in 1973 and the People's Europe Report of 1985. Primary

sources, such documents allowed me to examine the work of the EU, as well as to look specifically at the tone and vocabulary used in its official communication.

My research also draws on interviews held with individuals working at the European Commission in Brussels, thus considering the views of EU policy-makers. These interviews, conducted in September 2009, took place at a time when EU institutions were undergoing a series of transformations. A new commission, again led by José Manuel Durão Barroso, had just been elected, which meant new departments and posts would be created. To these forthcoming changes was added the prospect of the approval of the Lisbon Treaty, which would create new institutional figures (namely the President of the European Council) and was finally ratified in December of that year. Policy-makers talked passionately and positively about the challenges faced by the EU and the aspects of its work that in their view had to be improved – which is in stark contrast with the tone I encountered during a more recent visit to Brussels in May 2012, when a sense of crisis and uncertainty was evident amongst the European institutions.

The people I interviewed in 2009 worked on different aspects and phases of the MEDIA programme at the Directorate-General for Information Society (DG INFSO) and the independent Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). I also spoke to a high-ranking official from Directorate-General Education and Culture (DG EAC). Although transcripts of the interviews are not included in the thesis since participants asked for their responses to remain anonymous, the scripts I had prepared in advance can be found in Appendix B. The questions I asked concerned the main functions carried out by the departments where my interviewees worked, as well as their actual role within them. At DG EAC, I centred my questions on European identity and EU cultural policy, and in particular

their place in European integration. With policy-makers at DG INFSO and EACEA I discussed the state of the European film industry, asking about their views on the dichotomy between art and popular cinema, the relationship to Hollywood and the notion of universality. I also raised questions about the impact of MEDIA, its budget and key initiatives, as well as the programme's promotion and communication.

EU film policy

While specialised archives proved useful in accessing documents on EU cultural and audiovisual policy (the British Film Institute, for instance, holds a series of green and white papers authored by the European Commission and the European Parliament, as well as publications released by think tanks on related issues), by speaking to individuals with privileged access to and knowledge of these topics, I had more up-to-date information on the object of my research. Simultaneously, the interviews were useful as they provided me with the opportunity to hear views that differed from the official discourse of European institutions, thus offering a new perspective on the idea of Europe, MEDIA and contemporary European film; the gap between official discourse and the interviewees' views is clearly a reason for them asking for anonymity.

But my investigation also relied on secondary sources. Compared to the literature on Europe, the number of scholarly publications devoted to European cultural policy is relatively small. On the one hand, this is to do with the fact that this is a reasonably recent topic. On the other, political scientists see legislation for this sector as having a reduced impact on society and therefore lacking in status.[1] Chris Shore's study of the history of EU cultural policy, from the post-war period to signing of the Maastricht Treaty[2], as well as Monica Sassatelli's research on

initiatives such as the European Capital of Culture and the European Landscape Convention developed by the EU and the Council of Europe respectively[3], thus constitute significant exceptions.

Literature on European-wide film policy is equally scarce. Works tend to be focused on one country, such as *Cinema and State*, published in 1985, in which Margaret Dickinson and Sarah Street offer a historical study of film policy in the UK.[4] With a contemporary and transnational focus, Albert Moran's account of film policies around the globe at the end of the 20th century[5] is a valuable overview, but with the exception of Patrice Vivancos' *Cinéma et Europe*, published in French[6], there are no books exclusively devoted to the help given by European institutions to the audiovisual sector. Studies specifically concerned with Europe normally address film as part of the broader institutional support given to areas such as television, digital media and the internet. Some publications examine the legislation supporting such initiatives[7], while others look at the institutional frameworks in which they are developed[8].

Studies of the European film industries also normally allude to policy, even if only tangentially. These include a series of reports ordered by the European Commission (a number of which are analysed in further detail in Chapter 2). From an academic point of view, Anne Jäckel's monograph on the European film industries is a good example, as it features sections on the EU's MEDIA Programme and on Eurimages (an initiative by the Council of Europe) looking at their history and development.[9] A number of articles and chapters in edited volumes have also been published in recent years. One particular issue raised by these documents concerns the relationship Europe establishes with internal and external partners. For instance, the impact of European policies has been analysed in national contexts, such as in

Louise Strode's piece on France and EU policy-making[10]. Philip Schlesinger, on the other hand, looks at recent policy developments in the EU in relation to the construction of a European cultural identity and how this is opposed to that of the USA.[11] The economic impact of European cultural initiatives and the tension between culture and finance have also been explored by scholars. Just as Jäckel questions MEDIA's success in emphasising the cultural importance of film in Europe[12], Miyase Christensen argues EU policies have been more concerned with market and financial aspects than with culture[13]. In turn, Miguel Casado looks at the influence of the programme, concluding that there has been little investment and therefore few results[14].

Even if EU policies have had a limited impact (which in any case is extremely difficult to assess, especially in smaller European film industries), they nevertheless carry implications for the relevance of culture in the construction of Europe, as well as the way in which this is perceived by pan-European political institutions. Conscious that a more global approach to the study of EU film policy is necessary, Chapter 2 analyses MEDIA from three perspectives: historical, economic and as a discourse. In order to better contextualise the programme, the chapter begins with a brief overview of the European film industry in terms of the number of films produced and released in previous years, revisiting the art vs. industry dichotomy to think about notions of quality and, by looking at the origin of films distributed, the relationship to Hollywood. Perceptions of glamour and transnationality in the European context are examined in relation to film festivals and stardom. Concepts such as the quality film and the "Euro-pudding" are introduced as they have implications for the idea of Europe, further defining European cinema. I also position MEDIA in the European political context, examining the history of culture in the

Council of Europe and the EU.

An overview of the programme's main phases allows me to then centre on distribution, MEDIA's main area of action. I ask questions about the impact of the programme although mostly I am interested in what films it has awarded funding to. My work expands on the existing literature as it surveys the films MEDIA has supported in an attempt to increase understanding of the programme. Listing all films released with the aid of MEDIA through a specific scheme (selective support) in a specific period (during 2003, the first year tables of films supported by MEDIA were published online by the European Commission, and between 2005 and 2008), the thesis considers over 200 titles. Lists for 2004 are absent because of institutional changes – that was the year of the enlargement, also when MEDIA moved from one Directorate-General to another. Lists for after 2008 are also available online, but I have chosen to stop there in order to limit my corpus. With these gaps, this is the first detailed study of films released with the support of the EU. It is important not only because it furthers knowledge of the MEDIA programme, but also because it provides an institutional basis for the films I examine, in order to investigate the idea of Europe in the later chapters.

Finally, Chapter 2 adds to the study of MEDIA by shifting the focus of analysis, from its economic impact to the way it is communicated to European citizens. Indeed, it finishes by examining the way in which these policies are advertised and promoted, particularly by analysing seven short films produced by the European Commission since 2007. Core themes, including unity and diversity, universality and quality emerge from this analysis, providing another site where the EU's idea of European cinema manifests itself. By studying policies I gain further insight into the meaning of Europe from the point of view of the EU, at the interface

of state policy, film industry and film culture. Chapter 2 thus also introduces European cinema – the main topic of the second part of the thesis.

Contemporary European cinema

Ever since the beginning of film studies, scholarly publications have examined the cinemas of Europe. However, the majority of these concerned specific *auteurs* or specific nations. Even if cinema has been transnational from its inception[15], with the increasing attention devoted to this issue since the 1990s European film consolidated its position as an entity in its own right. The *Encyclopedia of European Cinema* edited by Ginette Vincendeau in 1995 and featuring entries on key films, stars, directors and movements is thus a seminal example of the new understanding of European cinema as a unified object of study.[16]

Other publications appearing in the 1990s explore issues of representation in European cinema, especially through the prism of film and society. These include Pierre Sorlin's *European cinemas, European societies*[17], the collection *Screening Europe* by Duncan Petrie[18] and *Border Crossing*, edited by John Hill, Martin McLoone and Paul Hainsworth[19]. The acceptance of European cinema as a discrete subject matter seems more consensual in the 2000s, as testified by the growing body of scholarly work, namely Jill Forbes and Sarah Street's *European Cinema: an introduction*[20], Diana Holmes and Alison Smith's *100 Years of European Cinema*[21], Catherine Fowler's *The European Cinema Reader*[22] and Elizabeth Ezra's *European Cinema*[23]. Encompassing some of the most important movements emerging throughout European cinema's history (from Soviet Cinema to Dogme 95), as well as the main aspects that characterise it (for instance, funding mechanisms and the importance of the *auteur*), these constitute vital introductions to its study.

Beyond the reference works, overviews and anthologies cited above, scholarship on European cinema can be divided into three main areas: industrial aspects, theoretical understandings and main themes and genres.

The European film industry

The negotiations around the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that took place in Uruguay in 1993 generated an interest in the economic aspects of European cinema and the 1990s saw the expansion of the literature devoted to the European film industries. In addition to Jäckel's monograph on this issue, examples include Angus Finney's *The State of European Cinema*, covering areas such as development, training and distribution[24], as well as Martin Dale's *Europa, Europa*[25] and *The Movie Game*[26], which are concerned with the economic growth of European cinema and its place in an international audiovisual market. Terry Ilott's *Budgets and Markets* looks at the mismatch between film costs and revenues in terms of audience numbers, putting forward a series of "lessons" for those involved in the production sector in Europe and aiming to expand their profits.[27]

Changes in the way films are made and distributed have also prompted the emergence of new waves of scholarly work. Graham Roberts and Dorota Ostrowska, for instance, explore the links between European film and television[28] – an issue equally addressed in Mary Wood's *Contemporary European Cinema*[29]. Although not a new phenomenon, collaboration between European nations (as described for instance in Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris and Sarah Street's *Film Architecture and the Transnational Imagination*[30]) and, particularly, co-productions (examined by Tim Bergfelder in *International Adventures*[31]), have seen a new flourishing, mirrored in recent scholarly work. Financial agreements are established with countries around

the globe, but co-productions between European nations have been particularly important for the development of a new internal audiovisual market, at the same time as they raise questions about the emergence of pan-European forms of identification. Hence, co-productions are the main topic of Mike Wayne's *The politics in contemporary European cinema*[32] and Luisa Rivi's *European cinema after 1989*[33]. Finally, film festivals – having both an economic and a cultural impact in the positioning of the films screened as well the places where they are set – have been the focus of a growing number of publications by Marijke de Valck[34], Dina Iordanova[35], Owen Evans[36] and Vanessa Schwartz[37], among others.

While concerned with the financial aspects of film, these studies do not ignore the cultural implications of the changes occurring in the European audiovisual sector. As such, they follow the work started by Wendy Everett in *European identity in cinema*[38]. A similar combined approach was adopted by the British Academy International Network Project on "Screening Identities: Reconfiguring Identity Politics in Contemporary European Cinema", which resulted in the publication of a series of articles in two issues of film and European studies journals guest-edited by Paul Cooke and Rob Stone. Essays in *New Cinemas* were concerned with the work of directors who consider themselves as outsiders, as well as with filmmakers at the borders of Europe, and included textual analysis of films from Finland, Serbia and Turkey[39]. In an issue of the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, contributors instead focused on the technological and political changes taking place in the European audiovisual sector, namely, the growth of DVD and new national and pan-European funding mechanisms, as well as the role of language, especially English, in contemporary films.[40]

These works provide a sound basis for this thesis's exploration of the state of

the European film industry and the political initiatives developed to support it, combined with an assessment of the interconnections between film and society. I consider both the production, distribution and reception contexts of a number of contemporary European films, in relation to transnational practices and the role the EU plays in such processes, and the way these films, as texts, convey particular visions of Europe. Although not a central area of enquiry, the industrial aspects of contemporary European film feature in my discussion of European cinema, especially when they have a significant impact on the idea of Europe, as for instance in the case of film festivals and their association with notions of quality and prestige, as will be argued in Chapter 2.

This thesis considers European cinema in its own right and not by comparison with other cinematographies. Nevertheless, the meaning of European cinema is often defined in opposition to Hollywood. During the GATT negotiations, European countries, especially France, opposed the USA and fought to exclude cultural goods (including films) from the agreements, as they argued these should not be subjected to a purely economic logic when travelling across borders. As such, while there is a long history of the opposition between European cinema and American popular film[41], the 1990s were a crucial moment for its development.[42]

From an industry point of view, the general perception both before and since the GATT negotiations is that, against Hollywood's market-oriented nature, Europe has an artistic conception of film. The opposition to Hollywood is also central to academic discourse, as testified not least by the work of Thomas Elsaesser, whose seminal book on the main topic of my thesis is tellingly entitled *European cinema: face to face with Hollywood*[43]. For Elsaesser, the concept of European cinema has been defined in relation to the nation, the emergence of the *auteur* and the connection

with art cinema – what he calls its "paradigms of autonomy", precisely formed against popular American cinema[44]. Hence, the opposition to Hollywood in industrial terms also perpetuates the artistic bias that informs conceptual definitions of European film – explored in the next section.

Theoretical understandings of European cinema

Recent literature devoted to contemporary European cinema has turned the spotlight on specifically European concepts of film theory, in particular in contributions by Ian Aitken[45] and Temenuga Trifonova[46]. While Aitken and Trifonova (as well as a section of Fowler's *European cinema reader*, mentioned above) anthologise and explore the work of film theoreticians emerging from Europe, the concept of space in film has been the focus of an increasing number of publications devoted to European film – as will be addressed later on. But the major theoretical paradigm in studies of European cinema, that is the opposition between art and popular cinema, arose in the 1990s.

Following on from Richard Dyer and Ginette Vincendeau's influential *Popular European Cinema*[47], Dimitris Eleftheriotis published *Popular Cinemas of Europe* in 2001. Both publications examine genres often disparaged by scholarly works, especially musicals, historical films, comedies and the spaghetti western. The interest in popular European cinema produced more focused studies, such as the nationally framed *France on Film* edited by Lucy Mazdon[48] and the collection *Spanish Popular Cinema*[49], or the examination of European stardom in Tytti Soila's *Stellar Encounters*[50]. Such work problematises the traditional association of Europe with ideas of high culture, exclusivity and elevation, at the same time as it expands and redefines European cinema as an object of study.

Despite this, art cinema has maintained its relevance as a meaningful category for the understanding of European film. In *Beyond the Subtitle,* for instance, Mark Betz "re-maps" the art cinema of the 1960s and 1970s through the notion of cinephilia[51]. Simultaneously, studies of art films and key *auteurs* have continued to emerge. Even if these incorporate new issues such as globalisation and the transnational and sometimes examine popular genres (as in Rosalind Galt's survey of historical melodramas[52]), such publications show that the perception of European cinema as art cinema is still deeply rooted in academic work.

At the same time, beyond the black and white opposition between art and the popular, new terms, such as "quality cinema" and "star director" (which will be discussed in Chapter 2) have arisen as particularly meaningful in the European context. Art and popular films have different ways of relating to cultural ideas mirrored in society. As theoretical categories, they position Europe between mainstream and elitism, and as such they are equally important for an examination of the idea of Europe. While acknowledging the dichotomy of art vs. popular is key to the study of European cinema, this thesis does not wish to endorse it and thus conducts its analysis of the idea of Europe through both categories. European cinema's commercial and artistic status is explored in coming chapters in relation to the meaning of Europe, in genres such as the heritage film and diasporic cinema.

Themes and genres in contemporary European film

Indeed, scholarly writings on European film have also questioned its common themes. The ubiquity of history and the past is undeniable, as studied, for instance, by Belén Vidal[53]. Yet concerns with Europe's position in an increasingly globalised world, especially in the face of post-colonialism, have also emerged, as a growing

number of films are devoted to social issues, such as urban expansion, poverty and immigration. As the continent undergoes a series of changes with the development of globalisation, studies look at the topics of migration and diaspora. Significant in this respect are works by Yosefa Loshitzky[54] and the contributors to Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg's anthology *European cinema in motion*[55]. The second part of this thesis echoes such developments in its thematic organisation, with one chapter devoted to historical representations of Europe and another to contemporary views of the continent.

Exploring European cinema's relationship with history and memory, Chapter 3 looks at films set in the past to question what idea of Europe they put forward. After an overview of EU policies in support of the heritage sector and a discussion of the notion of heritage, this chapter surveys the historical films supported by MEDIA. I review the literature on heritage cinema, a key genre in the European context, raising questions about popular and artistic conceptions of film, as well the association of Europe and its cinema with ideas of taste and prestige. Literary adaptations and biopics are analysed in relation to the way they celebrate European culture, while war films, representing the continent's darkest historical moment, allow me to explore the notion of whether there is a common European history. Finally, an analysis of films set in the recent past questions the notion of historical revisionism. Adopting a transnational focus, this chapter examines the extent to which it is possible to represent, understand and investigate European history. It also explores the notion of universality, as the historical figures and events portrayed by these films aim to appeal to an international audience, within and beyond Europe. By offering both positive and negative views of Europe and its history, Chapter 3 looks at what events feature and which of these have disappeared from mainstream

historical accounts and how this might contribute to the identification with Europe, in line with the EU's work in the cultural sector.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus of my analysis from the past to the present, considering spatial representations of today's Europe, as well as the depiction of social issues, especially in realist dramas. Matching the structure of the previous chapter, where EU policies in support of the heritage sector were presented as a backdrop to the analysis of contemporary films, here the European Capital of Culture initiative is examined. Literature on urban space in Europe, as well as on cinema and the city, is also reviewed. Useful here is the way in which on-screen space frames the meaning of Europe, as examined in works by Myrto Konstantarakos[56], Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli[57], Wendy Everett and Axel Goodbody[58], and Rosalind Galt[59]. Similarly, this chapter considers the prominence of urban space in contemporary Europe, asking how the continent's meaning is shaped by the cinematic representation of cities. This involves looking at how cities have been used as visitor attractions, as well as examining dystopian representations of European capitals. As had happened in the previous chapter, Europe's association with universality is discussed, as the films examined wish to appeal to people across nations and continents. The chapter is concerned both with designations of Europe (for instance, investigating the expression "Fortress Europe") and of film (e.g. "diasporic cinema"), thus continuing the thesis' attention to definitions.

Corpus and methodology

Chapters in the second half of this thesis look at fiction features released with the support of MEDIA in 2003 and between 2005 and 2008. In addition to these, the titles used by the European Commission in a series of short films produced in 2007

to promote MEDIA are also included in my corpus. While over 200 films are considered throughout, Chapters 3 and 4 explore in depth a smaller range of case studies. I look at the films that are "advertised" most frequently by the European Commission, for instance in memos and press releases, although my aim is to analyse films from as many different European nations as possible, including "big" and "small" countries and audiovisual industries, as well as from different genres, combining big-budget and independent productions.

Despite having been released across Europe, some of the films supported by MEDIA were not available for my study. While a number of these are not subtitled, others have not been released on DVD. Films that have done well at the box-office were easy to track. However, interestingly films that premiered in international events such as festivals and were perhaps not seen by more than a handful of critics were often more widely accessible than films successful with national audiences – as in the case of popular comedies. This highlights not only the fragmentation of the European film industry, but also the imbalance that persists between art and popular cinema in Europe. My thesis thus raises questions about the circulation of European cinema, not only in cultural (for instance, in relation to language) but also in commercial terms.

The fact that I am looking at contemporary cinema means box-office figures, as well as reviews of the films analysed are widely available, especially in trade and other specialised publications. But by contrast, not much has yet been written from an academic perspective about many of the thesis' case studies. My corpus aims to find a balance between widely known films and a wish to maintain the originality of the thesis by bringing new titles to the fore. All films are analysed both in relation to their industrial contexts and in stylistic terms, and textual analysis of key sequences

is offered in Chapters 3 and 4 to illustrate my points about contemporary European cinema's idea of Europe. The methodology adopted, as well as the case studies chosen, has thus both shaped and been analysed by this thesis.

The second half of the thesis brings the issues of Europe and European cinema together, contributing to a better understanding and definition of the two. By exploring transnational ideas (Europe) and international cultural practices (film), as well as the connection between them, this thesis is in line with the greater focus devoted to border-crossing forms of identification in the humanities and social sciences more generally. In particular, it questions the extent to which the work carried out by political organisations shapes our perception of the society we live in. At the same time, exploring Europe's post-colonial condition, it adds to the study of the cultural impact of globalisation, offering new perspectives on today's complex world.

Endnotes

[1] Chris Shore, '"In uno plures"(?) EU Cultural Policy and the Governance of Europe', in *Cultural Analysis* 5 (2006), 9
[2] Chris Shore, *Building Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000)
[3] Monica Sassatelli, *Becoming Europeans* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
[4] Margaret Dickinson and Sarah Street, *Cinema and state* (London: BFI, 1985)
[5] Albert Moran (ed.), *Film policy* (London: Routledge, 1996)
[6] Patrice Vivancos, *Cinéma et Europe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000)
[7] See for instance David Goldberg, Tony Prosser and Stefaan Verhulst, *EC media law and policy* (Harlow: Longman, 1998) and Anna Herold, *European film policies in EU and international law* (Groningen: Europa Law Pub., 2010)
[8] Richard Collins, *Broadcasting and audio-visual policy in the European single market* (London: Libbey, 1994)
[9] Anne Jäckel, *European Film Industries* (London: BFI, 2003)
[10] Louise Strode, 'France and EU Policy-Making on Visual Culture: New Opportunities for National Identity?', in *France in focus*, eds. Elizabeth Ezra and Sue Harris (Oxford: Berg, 2000)
[11] Philip Schlesinger, 'From cultural defence to political culture: media, politics and collective identity in the European Union', in *Media, Culture & Society* 19 (1997), 369-391
[12] Jäckel, 2003, 76
[13] Miyase Christensen, 'Rethinking European Media Landscapes: *D'où venons nous? Que sommes-nous? Où allons-nous*?', in *Shifting landscapes*, eds. Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdoğan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008)
[14] Miguel Angel Casado, 'EU Media Programmes: Little Investment, Few Results', in *European Film and Media Culture*, eds. Lennard Højbjerg and Henrik Søndergaard (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press and University of Copenhagen, 2006)
[15] Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden (eds.), *Transnational cinema: the film reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 2
[16] Ginette Vincendeau (ed.), *Encyclopedia of European cinema* (London: Cassell, 1995)
[17] Pierre Sorlin, *European cinemas, European societies 1939-1990* (London: Routledge, 1991)
[18] Duncan Petrie (ed.), *Screening Europe* (London: BFI, 1992)
[19] John Hill, Martin McLoone and Paul Hainsworth (eds.), *Border crossing* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies in association with the University of Ulster and the British Film Institute, 1994)
[20] Jill Forbes and Sarah Street (eds.), *European cinema: an introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000)
[21] Diana Holmes and Alison Smith (eds.), *100 years of European cinema: entertainment or ideology?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)
[22] Catherine Fowler (ed.), *The European Cinema Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002)
[23] Elizabeth Ezra (ed.), *European cinema* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004)
[24] Angus Finney, *The state of European cinema* (London: Cassell, 1996)
[25] Martin Dale, *Europa, Europa* (Paris: Académie Carat and MEDIA Business School, 1992)
[26] Martin Dale, *The movie game* (London: Cassell, 1997)
[27] Terry Ilott, *Budgets and markets* (London: Routledge, 1996)
[28] Graham Roberts and Dorota Ostrowska, *European cinemas in the television age* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007)
[29] Mary Wood, *Contemporary European Cinema* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2007)
[30] See for instance Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris and Sarah Street, *Film architecture and the transnational imagination* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007)
[31] Tim Bergfelder, *International adventures* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2005)
[32] Mike Wayne, *The politics in contemporary European cinema* (Bristol: Intellect, 2002)
[33] Luisa Rivi, *European cinema after 1989* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
[34] Marijke de Valck, *Film festivals: from European geopolitics to global cinephilia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007)
[35] Dina Iordanova and Regan Rhyne (eds.), *The Festival Circuit* (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2009); and Dina Iordanova and Ruby Cheung (eds.), *Film Festivals and Imagined Communities* (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2010)
[36] Owen Evans, 'Border Exchanges: The Role of the European Film Festival', in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 15:1 (2007), 23–33
[37] Vanessa Schwartz, *It's So French!* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007)
[38] Wendy Everett (ed.), *European identity in cinema* (Bristol: Intellect, 2005)
[39] Paul Cooke and Rob Stone, 'Editorial: Screening Identities at and Beyond Europe's Borders', in

New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film 4:2 (2006), 79-82
[40] Paul Cooke and Rob Stone, 'Editorial: Screening Europe: Contemporary Reconfigurations of European Cinema', in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 15:1 (2007), 1-3
[41] See for instance Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby (eds.), *"Film Europe" and "Film America": cinema, commerce and cultural exchange, 1920-1939* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999)
[42] See for instance Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and Steven Ricci (eds.), *Hollywood and Europe* (London: BFI Publishing, 1998); and Paul Cooke and Rob Stone, 'Introduction: dialogues with Hollywood', in *Studies in European Cinema* 1:2 (2004), 73-75
[43] Thomas Elsaesser, *European cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005)
[44] Ibid., 18
[45] Ian Aitken, *European film theory and cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)
[46] Temenuga Trifonova (ed.), *European film theory* (London: Routledge, 2009)
[47] Richard Dyer and Ginette Vincendeau (eds.), *Popular European cinema* (London: Routledge, 1992)
[48] Lucy Mazdon (ed.), *France on film* (London: Wallflower, 2001)
[49] Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis (eds.), *Spanish Popular Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)
[50] Tytti Soila, *Stellar Encounters* (Eastleigh: John Libbey, 2009)
[51] Mark Betz, *Beyond the subtitle* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press; London, 2009)
[52] Rosalind Galt, *The new European cinema* (New York, N.Y.; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2006)
[53] Belén Vidal, *Figuring the past* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012)
[54] Yosefa Loshitzky, *Screening strangers* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010)
[55] Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg (eds.), *European cinema in motion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
[56] Myrto Konstantarakos (ed.), *Spaces in European cinema* (Exeter: Intellect, 2000)
[57] Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli, *From Moscow to Madrid* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003)
[58] Wendy Everett and Axel Goodbody (eds.), *Revisiting Space* (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005)
[59] Galt, 2006

1. THE IDEA OF EUROPE

As a background to the examination of the idea of Europe in contemporary European cinema, this chapter introduces the main issues in the study of its significance. Critically reviewing the scholarship on this topic and also looking at the work carried out by the EU, it is structured in two main sections. First, it draws a brief history of the idea of Europe. It analyses the meanings attributed to Europe in relation to political and historical references, further investigating the relationship between European, national and global forms of identification. As such, the chapter looks at the criticism directed at the idea of Europe through the contrasting concepts of universalism and Euro-centrism. Through a focus on the "other", it follows a questioning of the "when" and the "what" with an analysis of the "who" in terms of who defines and is defined by European identity. Second, the chapter turns to the specific contribution made by the EU to this debate. A timeline of major European facts can be found in Appendix A. It should be noted the EU has only officially been formed and named as such with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty; as such, European Community and EC are used to designate what we now know as EU when referring to its history and work before 1992. How has the notion of European identity featured in EU official documents and initiatives? What idea of Europe emerges from the work of European institutions? I look at EU treaties and public communication, also drawing in part on the interviews I conducted at the European Commission in Brussels. By bringing together cultural and political perceptions of the continent, the chapter provides historical grounding to the key concepts used and explored in the subsequent study of EU audiovisual policy and analysis of contemporary European films.

1.1 Europe: history of an idea

In recent years, the idea of Europe has been widely investigated. In universities, the consolidation of European studies as an interdisciplinary area of learning is testified by the creation of a growing number of courses, degrees, departments, research groups and international academic networks, as well as the expansion of publications, including books and specialised journals. At the same time, popular attention to pan-European events such as the football UEFA Europa League and the Eurovision Song Contest has risen, with over 100 million spectators following the TV coverage of the contest's 2011 edition.[1]

Concrete initiatives aimed at the promotion of European citizenship, including some developed by the EU, also have an effect on individuals' perception of Europe. A good example is the Erasmus exchange programme. According to Umberto Eco, interviewed in January 2012 for the *Europa* series – a joint project developed by six European newspapers based in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Poland and the UK – this initiative clearly reinforces European culture. For Eco, Erasmus constitutes "a sexual revolution: a young Catalan man meets a Flemish girl – they fall in love, they get married and they become European, as do their children". Arguing the programme increases European citizens' sense of belonging and identification with the continent, Eco goes on to suggest this "should be compulsory [and] not just for students", as everyone should "spend time in other countries within the European Union".[2] Regardless of whether or not the impact of the Erasmus programme has been felt in the terms suggested by Eco, with the abolition of internal borders, the development of transport and communication and the re-localisation of businesses and public institutions, more and more people not only travel within Europe but also change their residency from one European nation to another. The idea of Europe,

especially for those living in countries that adhered to the single currency, is today experienced in practical terms, becoming an integral part of many people's daily lives.

However, at the same time as the topic raises interest within and outside academia, its meaning is increasingly questioned. Participation in the 2009 election of the European Parliament was the lowest ever across the continent and the debt crisis that began around the same year (as well as criticism over the way it has been dealt within the euro-zone) threatens not only the *de facto* continuation of the European political project but also its public perception. In the UK, a traditionally Euro-sceptic country, the popular press often alludes to the shortcomings of the European integration process. In their characteristic humorous tone, British tabloids have been responsible for a series of remarkable headlines on Europe – a number of which are addressed by the European Commission on the webpage of DG-Communication. Amongst the "EU myths" (as the Commission presents them) deconstructed online, we find: "EU plans to close thousands of British off-licences" (*The Sun*, 21 February 2005), "Marmalade: EU regulates grandmother's recipe" (*Daily Telegraph*, 21 October 2003) and "EU to rename Waterloo Station 'Europe Station'" (*Daily Express*, 16 October 2003), among others.[3] European integration is here contrasted to national cultures, as well as indigenous customs and traditions, perceived to be endangered. The tone is alarmist and the changes are announced in a clear populist slant, as the topics raised by these headlines refer to issues people can easily relate to, such as drinking, eating and travelling. Although Europe is here presented negatively, this testifies to the concept's undeniable presence in contemporary popular discourse.

Because the idea of Europe has been exceptionally difficult to characterise,

Dimitris Eleftheriotis (writing about European cinema) suggests that understanding Europe in geographical terms is the only way to avoid its problematic meaning.[4] However, even the continent's borders are contentious. This has been the case throughout Europe's history, particularly in relation to its frontiers to the East; not only is Russia's position in Europe still debatable today, Eastern Europe as a whole was until very recently perceived as an "other".[5] From a geopolitical point of view, as political alliances such as the Council of Europe and NATO are consolidated, the notion of Europe becomes enmeshed with a Western or Northern perception of the world. The EU itself is a good example of Europe's blurry boundaries, as the members keep changing, a number of non-member countries participate in its programmes and not all members share the same legislation (as in the case of the opt-outs from the Schengen Agreement). What other approaches towards an understanding of the idea of Europe should then be considered? This section looks at the recent history of the idea of Europe, pinpointing its key connotations and highlighting the most important debates that have arisen about its meaning.

The emergence of the idea of Europe

Although the concept of Europe and the identification with the European continent had existed for centuries – going back to ancient Greece – a political idea of Europe only emerged in the 1960s. Previous projects devoted to the maintenance of world peace and European integration had included the League of Nations, founded in the aftermath of the First World War. But with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, what is today known as the EU appeared as the first federalist project capable of achieving concrete results, thus leading to the emergence of a more solid political understanding of Europe. I begin my history of the idea of Europe around these

years, a period when identities more generally (including national, ethnic and sexual) also began to be discussed. While we are able to historically locate the emergence of European identity, defining the idea of Europe has been seen as a "Herculean task"[6]. But as Bo Stråth argues, this does not "undermine but rather helps to explain the power that the concept exercises."[7] Indeed, as this chapter shows, the work on the idea of Europe has expanded tremendously since the 1960s.

Hartmut Kaelble signals two main phases in the study of European identity: first, the post-war period, particularly around the 1960s, and second, from the late 1980s to the present day.[8] Directly influenced by the aftermath of the Second World War and the signing of the Treaty of Rome, works produced during the first phase can be divided into political and historical approaches as they cover either the idea of Europe as a continent with cultural signification or the development of the European Community (EC). From a historical perspective, of particular relevance is Denys Hay's 1957 monograph on the emergence of the European idea.[9] Focused on the later Middle Ages, it looks at the relationship between Christendom and the notion of Europe – a distinctive (albeit problematic) element of the term's cultural definition, as discussed later on. We also find in this period a number of pieces written by politicians, including the EC's "founding fathers", that directly address the European integration process and offer a positive view of its development. A telling example is Altiero Spinelli's 1972 *The European Adventure* (a title which nevertheless denotes a sense of uncertainty and risk), where he exposes a federalist view of Europe, arguing that there is a widespread pro-European attitude and strong popular enthusiasm for the EC's project.[10]

A cultural view of the continent also emerges in the works of the late 1980s, which were influenced by discussions around the Maastricht Treaty and the

introduction of culture in the work of the EC (namely, the "People's Europe" reports, which I return to later on in this chapter). Two key texts are emblematic of this second phase. In *Penser l'Europe* (1987), Edgar Morin defines Europe with regards to its dialogical essence, arguing it is founded on opposites, united but diverse. Through a strong refusal of colonialism, Morin roots the understanding of Europe in a more distant past, that of its Greek and Roman heritage, presenting it as a *communauté de destin*, a community made together by its common destiny, or in other words, a community meant to be.[11] From a different philosophical perspective, Jacques Derrida in 1992 argues Europe needs to be reborn. He stresses the existence of another "heading"[12] ("heading" here meant in the sense of "orientation") – reminding us, like Morin, that it would be possible for Europe to go in a different direction. While linking Europe to its past, both approaches stress the importance of eliminating a certain European heritage. The focus here is not so much on the emergence of the idea of Europe (as in Hay's study) but more on a critique of its history, namely colonialism. Both writers aim for a new configuration of the continent, placing it in a chronological, rather than geographical, framework.

While the Europe discussed here is not overtly political, a reflection on its meaning cannot be disentangled from contemporary developments. As the integration process moved forward, other writings emerged that dealt with Europe's institutional dimension. Soledad García, for instance, discusses the issue of legitimacy[13] – one that has always been at the core of the criticism of the EU and its institutions and that has been developed by later sociological works, including the collections *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*[14] and *European Identity*[15]. In her own *European Identity and the Search for Legitimacy*, published in 1993, García stresses the distinction between European elites (those working in

Brussels) and citizens, questioning the ability of the EC to communicate with and represent those affected by its policies.[16] Equally negative is Gerard Delanty's *Inventing Europe*, a sociological approach that alerts readers to the dangers of bringing cultural identities into the political realm, as they can become ideologies.[17] García and Delanty's works illustrate a new body of literature that merges the thinking on Europe with that on the EU, although these are written not from an institutional (as in Spinelli's contribution) but from a scholarly point of view. Seen in conjunction with the work of Morin and Derrida, García and Delanty further point up a suspicion towards the idea of Europe, as what they ask stresses a radical questioning of the very existence of the EC and then EU: can Europe re-think itself?; can it head in a different way?; is it legitimate?; can we trust the EU's discourse as more than just a political ideology? Either perceived as positive (as in the 1960s) or negative (1980s), the meaning of the idea of Europe and the interest in the continent's political integration are thus closely intertwined.

The idea of Europe in the 21st century

Whereas in the 1960s European integration theories were in line with anti-nationalist feelings emerging from the devastating effects of the Second World War, in the 1990s there was a rise in nationalism following the break-up of the Soviet Block and the conflict in the Balkans, leading to a new and profound questioning of Europe. Michael Wintle shows that "enthusiasm for 'Europe' has waxed and waned over the last few centuries"[18] and fluctuated even more in the 20th century, particularly before and after the First and Second World Wars, but also, he claims, in tune with changes in the capitalist economy.[19] Hence, when the continent faced an economic crisis, such as during the Great Depression of the 1930s, European societies experienced a

sense of Euro-despair (much like what we see at the time of writing this thesis); and when there was an economic expansion, namely after the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Western European nations, the mood was of Euro-euphoria.

Euphoria also describes the general attitude towards Europe in the early 2000s. This was a particularly prolific moment and a period of widespread enthusiasm for the European integration project as the European Monetary Union was launched and the EU's largest expansion (with the enlargement to ten new countries) started to be prepared. Hence, within the second phase of writings on Europe identified by Hartmut Kaelble, as mentioned above, it is important to highlight the emergence of a vast number of works at the turn of the 20th century, which constitute a new wave of scholarship exploring the changes occurring in Europe and the EU.

At the same time as the EC (from then on, EU) pushed for more integration, the issue of legitimacy was brought alive by the refusal of the Constitutional Treaty in 2004 (also looked at in more detail in the second half of this chapter). European identity, not exclusively tied to, but propelled by the politics of integration, thus became a key issue for the 21st century. This has meant that since the 2000s the amount of work on the idea of Europe has risen dramatically, with the topic now being approached from a wide number of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, including, in addition to politics, law (as the EU publishes new bills and writes legislation for new fields), sociology (as its programmes have repercussions on ever wider levels of society), psychology (as it attempts to create new forms of identification), anthropology (concerned with the individual's perception of Europe, for instance, those working at European institutions) and history (following the need to account for new developments and therefore update the narrative of the continent). While reprising some of the previous literature on European identity, recent writings

have expanded it to include lessons from post-colonial and post-modernist theories, as well as a consideration of globalisation as an increasingly relevant phenomenon. Finally, as testified by many of the edited collections cited below, new literature follows a call for greater inter-disciplinarity.

Amongst this vast scholarship, two of the more fruitful approaches – and indeed the most relevant for this thesis – include new political and historical focuses. On the one hand, there has been a growing body of literature on institutional conceptions of Europe. Many, such as Mabel Berezin, Martin Schain and Étienne Balibar, have investigated the notions of borders, territory[20] and citizenship[21] and their bearing on the constitution of Europe. Scholars have also considered the implications of EU policies in contemporary society, making an explicit connection between European institutions and the idea of Europe. In particular, publications have questioned the role of these institutions in shaping collective identities (as in the volume on *Transnational Identities* cited before[22]), the extent to which a European identity exists beyond legal and institutional forms of identification (for instance in an investigation conducted by Franz C. Mayer and Jan Palmowski[23]) and how cultural identity is formed through programmes developed by the EU and the Council of Europe (namely, the European Capital of Culture, analysed by Monica Sassatelli in *Becoming Europeans*[24]).

On the other, scholarship on the definition of Europe as a cultural rather than a political concept continues to expand. Luisa Passerini in particular, has been the author and editor of a number of important studies of European identity, including a monograph on the interconnections between the theme of Europeanness and love in the interwar years[25] and the role of symbols and myths in the construction of European identity[26]. Similarly, Michael Wintle has looked at the part played by

maps, logos, cartoons and buildings in the shaping of the idea of Europe, matching an investigation of how the continent has been represented since ancient times with what such representations tell us about Europe's understanding in history[27]. Looking at depictions of the myth of Europa and the bull, for example, he suggests the continent has been attributed features such as "nobility and queenliness, kinetic energy and the technology of travel"[28], in the same way that the positioning of Europe at the centre of world maps during the Renaissance testifies to the Euro-centric views of the period.[29]

Scholars have also attempted to characterise the contemporary idea of Europe in relation to its history, exploring the cultural meaning of Europe's past. Indeed, European identity has been prominently associated with notions of past and oldness[30] – something the EU pursues in initiatives for the support of cultural heritage, as will be discussed in Chapter 3. Among those placing the roots of the idea of Europe in history, García invokes particular moments such as Hellenism, Roman law and Christianity[31] as founding blocks of European identity. In *The Idea of Europe*, Anthony Pagden includes in this narrative the myth of Europa and the bull, and, after the Greek and the Roman Empire, the Enlightenment.[32]

Although as Wintle recognises, the links between the myth of Europa and the European project are vague[33], the myth still contributes to the contemporary idea of Europe. As noted above, Wintle has pinpointed some of the attributes perceptions of the continent have borrowed from this myth, but as Stuart Hall argues, the latter also places the continent in a *telos*[34]. Placing Europe in the past gives its idea status and authority; the myth, seen as a narrative that has endured the test of time, as a "classical" and therefore respected story, provides the idea of Europe with a sense of prestige. Indeed, for Passerini, the myth pinpoints Europe's specific origin. However,

as she goes on to suggest, it further positions Europe in the centre of the world[35] – raising questions about Euro-centrism and the ties between a cultural conception of the continent and the notion of superiority.

From Greek Hellenism and the Roman Empire, the idea of Europe has inherited the concepts of city and citizenship, politics and democracy, as well as, as Pagden notes, a "law for all humanity".[36] Similar concepts characterise the vision of Europe that emerges with the Enlightenment – particularly, the notion of cosmopolitanism, which is addressed in coming sections. The references highlighted in this section, are, on a first level, uncontested, offering, beyond rationality, an emotional link to present-day Europe. But just as the philosophical accounts developed by Morin and Derrida dismissed Europe's colonialist strand, there has been a widespread criticism of the universal conceptions of Europe emerging from Classicism and the Enlightenment, as these are seen as too general. Hence, it is important to understand how the idea of Europe relates to pre-existing forms of identification, as well as to situate it in the face of its opposites, within and beyond the continent.

Europe and the "other"

The "other" is a crucial element of the definition of identities. These are by nature oppositional, relating to distinct meanings, groups and signifying practices. For Stuart Hall, "'[o]therness' was from the beginning an invention of European ways of seeing and representing difference. [Europe] has been reinventing 'the Rest' ever since."[37] But while contemporary writings on Europe (including reports published by the EU) aim to place it in a global world, the "Rest" mentioned by Hall is also to be found within the continent. Indeed, in the first instance, Europe is often seen

internally in opposition to the nation.

Certainly, the idea of Europe emerged before the very concept of nation-state – as demonstrated by Hay's study of Christendom. During the 20th and the 21st centuries Europe appeared in different moments either as more important than the nation (namely in the post-war years, with the development of, for instance, town-twinning[38]) or as a problem for the nation – in the late 1980s, as noted before, but also in the early 2000s in a number of Euro-sceptic nations such as the UK, which has seen the rise of UKIP, the UK Independence Party, currently lobbying for the country to leave the EU. The relationship between the nation and the idea of Europe is also the object of a vivid debate in film studies, as transnational cinema gains currency as a new category and the ability to locate the national is questioned by a number of contemporary European films.

Many, including García and Delanty, insist that "national nationalism" and "European nationalism" are not only compatible, but that they need each other.[39] While still opposing Europe and the nation, studies on the connections between the two adopt a multitude of approaches, ranging from questioning whether we are witnessing the formation of a European *nation*-state (that is, is Europe politically constructed, for instance, like the UK?), as in Chris Shore's seminal *Building Europe*[40] and Ariane Chabel D'Appolonia's contribution to Pagden's volume on *The Idea of Europe*[41]; or to what extent Europe contributes to definitions of national identity (does one feel more British by feeling European?), as Mikael af Malmborg and Bo Stråth ask in *The Meaning of Europe*[42].

Europe also shares something with the nation, in the way it is perceived as a political construction. On a conceptual level, much of the thinking about Europe borrows terms inherited from the study of the nation; indeed, almost all of the

literature reviewed in this section cites Benedict Anderson's seminal *Imagined Communities*[43]. In addition to characterising the nation as an "imagined community", Anderson describes the large cultural systems that precede its emergence, including a new temporality. As he suggests, "the idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which is also conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history."[44] Mirroring the political foundation of the nation, Europe becomes tied to the idea of progress. And by becoming a continuum, it is able not only to make up for its past, but also to break with it, as this has been seen as an "other" in itself.[45] European integration stems from wanting to avoid the repetition of earlier mistakes and devastating events, especially the Second World War and the Holocaust. As heritage becomes more and more about trauma (as argued in Chapter 3 in relation to contemporary films representing Europe's history through the perspective of its victims), Europeans try to distance themselves from a series of compromising past moments, thus re-shaping Europe's narrative.

Beyond the nation, other key oppositions are highlighted by studies of the idea of Europe. Delanty pinpoints binary oppositions such as Christendom versus Islam, the Jews as the eternal enemy and the Orient as the other as archetypal European dichotomies.[46] Internal and external opposites, such "enemies" and "others" are defined as non-European because of their religion, ethnicity and language (issues also addressed in Chapter 4, as I look at cinematic representations of today's "Fortress Europe"). Particularly controversial has been Europe's Judeo-Christian foundation. After Hay's study of the emergence of the idea of Europe and Christendom there has been extensive work on more recent links between Europe and religion. The faith of the EU's founding fathers, for example, as well as the role

played by Christian Democratic parties in Europe's political construction, have been examined by Wolfram Kaiser.[47] But the connection between European identity and Christianity has also been attacked by many, including Krishan Kumar, who claims it involves a disregard of the major contributions to European culture made by other religious groups, namely Jews and Muslims.[48] Indeed, this was also the target of strong contestation during the writing of the Constitutional Treaty (further explored later on), which prompted the President of the European Commission José Manuel Durão Barroso, in a speech in 2009, to point out that Europe's Christian heritage should only be invoked if understood as a tradition of ecumenism and universality, as the EU aims to become a guarantor of cultural diversity, including by promoting religious openness.[49]

Questioning Europe: universality vs. Euro-centrism

At the same time as Europe is perceived to be in opposition to the "other", European identity has either been seen as compatible with other identities or paradoxically equated with universality. Just as Derrida feels European "among other things"[50], the EU has stressed the importance of creating an identity that is collective but remains a guardian of national, regional and local forms of identification. It is in this context that Anthony Smith's seminal article on the unity of Europe describes a "situational" identity that should represent a "family of cultures made up of a syndrome of partially shared historical traditions and cultural heritages, […] a family of elements which overlap and figure in a number of (but not all) examples".[51] Smith hints at the importance of identifying common elements shared by European nations (citing as examples Roman law, democracy, parliamentary institutions, romanticism and classicism) that will not, however, be equal in everything (indeed, Smith also hints at

the inescapable divisions some of the traditions and heritages mentioned before have created). After Smith, many, including García, D'Appollonia and Martin Kohli, have commented on the uncertainty of today's fragmented and global society, at the same time stressing that an individual will, at different moments, choose to defend his local, national or global identity, without ever having to deny any of these forms of allegiance.[52]

Featuring prominently in contemporary discourses about Europe (as well as in contemporary European cinema, as is the case of *Joyeux Noël/Merry Christmas*, analysed in Chapter 3), the notion of universality can be traced back to Christendom but was particularly developed in the Enlightenment. Cosmopolitanism, a term inherited from the Stoics but gaining currency in the 18th century, has also seen a recent re-birth in literature across the humanities and social sciences (including in film studies, as noted in Chapter 4), being explored by Gerard Delanty in relation to European identity[53], by Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande with regards to the European integration process[54] and considered by Kwame Anthony Appiah in the context of globalisation[55]. On a political level, the concept of universality can be illustrated by the positioning of the EU as a global actor. The EU has been trying to become a protagonist on the world's political stage, for instance when negotiating an international agreement on climate change in the 2010 Copenhagen Conference.[56] Europe's position in the globe is, however, complex. Derrida discusses the "Duty of Europe"[57] (one that seems to have underpinned the empires of the 16th century), but the notion of "mission", with an ominous resonance with Europe's colonial history, has been denied by philosophers such as Morin and is increasingly questioned today.

A need to be perceived as universal denotes an exclusive vision of Europe that construes itself as superior and Euro-centrism is a common criticism of the definition

of the idea of Europe as well as of the EU. Hence, it is important to recognise that, even today, as J. Peter Burgess puts it, "knowledge about Europe is also produced by Europe"[58] and this includes those working at the European Commission[59]. Most texts cited in this chapter have indeed been written either by scholars working in Europe or by EU officials and this might account for the alleged sense of superiority. This, however, does not prevent many of the scholars writing about Europe, including Wintle and Shore, to label the official discourse of the EU as "propaganda".[60] Aiming to avoid the Euro-centric trap, many writers on Europe adopt instead a bias against the work of European institutions, systematically questioning their official discourse. The understanding of the EU is thus dependent on its source. Such panoply of views makes this a fascinating topic, with an analysis of different contributions to the idea of Europe telling us a great deal about the role of culture in contemporary society.

The fact that the idea of Europe started to be explored in academia after the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 has blurred the distinction between the concept's scholarly and institutional meanings. The majority of the literature emerging on this topic (including works by García[61] and Wintle[62]) insists Europe must be distinguished from the idea of European union, but cultural and political views of this expression are entangled. The extent to which the discourses on Europe and on the EU overlap thus requests further investigation. If there has been, since the 2000s, a growing interest in European identity, when did the expression (or the idea it stands for) enter the EU's vocabulary? What is the relationship between nation and Europe as well as between Europe and the world in the eyes of the EU? Does the idea of universality appear in the EU's discourse and is it used to counterbalance a perceived lack of legitimacy? The next section focuses on the role the cultural idea of

Europe has played in European integration and in the work of the EU in particular.

1.2 The EU's definition of Europe

Jean Monnet, one of the most prominent of the EU's founding fathers, is meant to have said: "if I were to begin again, I would start with culture". This quote provides crucial information about the relationship between identity and culture in the European integration process, at the same time as it presents a number of contradictions. First, while it positions culture at the core of the EU's development, it also highlights the fact that this was not one of its initial concerns. Second, it denotes the importance of European elites and the founding fathers in particular for the public perception of European integration, while denouncing one of the main problems faced by the EU: miscommunication. In fact, the often-repeated statement that has now achieved the status of a myth is not a true quote but a fabrication. Monnet did not say this; explanations either claim the quote was reported speech in the conditional form (Monnet would have said) or that it had a different author.[63]

Regardless of whether Monnet did or did not suggest culture was missing from the European integration process, like all myths, the significance of this quotation lies in the fact that for years it has been reproduced in EU publications, being often cited by its officials. While the importance attributed to culture by European institutions has not had a linear evolution, lately it has been rising. The next section identifies key moments in this history to pinpoint what meanings are, from an institutional point of view, associated with the idea of Europe.

Eurobarometer and the Declaration on European Identity

The EC played a prominent role in addressing the idea of Europe during the 1970s. In 1973, the public opinion survey Eurobarometer was launched, followed by the signing of the Declaration on European Identity. Still published today, the Eurobarometer consists of 1.000 bi-annual face-to-face interviews conducted in different European countries. It has "given the EU institutions ears"[64], as well as inaugurated a quantitative approach to the understanding of European identity, later adopted by scholars such as Michael Bruter[65].

Investigating the popularity of the EU institutions amongst European citizens, Eurobarometer emerged as a response to claims about the EU's lack of legitimacy. For Shore, these surveys have also been used to "construct and mobilise a host of new 'European' meta-concepts and categories, including 'European opinion', 'European public' [and] 'European consumers'", among others[66], thus becoming a key tool of European integration. At the same time as they contribute to the formation of a transnational public sphere, Eurobarometer questionnaires set a European agenda through the questions posed. These often address topical issues, which have included the repercussions of inflation in 1974, the understanding of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, reactions to the EU's enlargement in the early 2000s and the euro-zone debt crisis in 2011.

Although the results of Eurobarometer surveys are analysed in qualitative reports, the Declaration on European Identity, signed in the same year, is the document that offers the greatest insight into the idea of Europe from an institutional point of view. The first EU official publication directly addressing the topic of European identity, the Declaration is structured in three sections. It discusses the unity of "the Nine" (that is, the EC's member-states at the time: Germany, France,

Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland and the UK), their positioning in relation to the world and the nation and, finally, the dynamic nature of European unification. Referring to the latter, Peter Bugge notes how the Declaration on European Identity "articulated a crudely functionalist view of identity-building, which was seen not as a pre-requisite for, but rather as a by-product of, economic integration."[67] For the founding fathers, the more the European institutions developed, the more people would feel connected to them; the Single Market would, in their opinion, bring European countries together not only in political and economic terms, but also in cultural terms.

The Declaration suggests that, in addition to the named member-states, the integration process is open to those European nations that share the same ideals and objectives. Speaking of changes for Europe in a new world, it positions Europe's "other" in a global sphere, including Mediterranean and African countries, the Middle East, the United States of America, Japan and Canada, the USSR and East European countries, China, other Asian countries and Latin American countries. These are described as "the other industrialised countries", "major player[s] in international affairs", as partners and friends.[68] For the Nine, the "other" lied outside its borders, being valued because of its historical, political and economic significance.

In turn, the nation did not appear as an "other" but was seen as coexistent with Europe. The document issued by the Nine refers to these states' "cherished values of their legal, political and moral order", as well as to the effort to "preserve the rich variety of their national cultures".[69] At the same time, there is in the Declaration a paradoxical appraisal of variety and uniformity, which resonates with the motto of the EU, "united in diversity" – as will be discussed in coming sections. As it reads:

> The *diversity* of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, [but, at the same time] the attachment to *common* values and principles, the increasing *convergence* of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a *United Europe*, all give the European identity its originality and its own dynamism.[70] [my emphasis and notes]

The "rich variety" mentioned before is in contrast with a sense of uniformity that emerges as the Declaration lists common values and principles, thus putting forward a definition for the idea of Europe. These include, as Passerini notes, the fact that a European identity "should be based on a common heritage, […] on the principles of representative democracy, the rule of the law, social justice and respect for human rights".[71] As such, the Declaration echoes those approaches that define the idea of Europe through its Hellenic and Roman past, as well as through concepts inherited from political sciences. Just as in the scholarly literature described in the previous section, Europe appears here as simultaneously different from an "other" (very clearly placed beyond Europe) and as universal (since "representative democracy" or "respect for human rights" could hardly be seen as exclusively European values). The twin drive specificity and universality is thus at the roots of the EU's understanding of Europe.

The Declaration of 1973 has remained the only document published by the EU to discuss the issue of European identity as such. However, a contribution to the understanding of the idea of Europe is also visible in the work of the EC in the 1980s and early 1990s, as European institutions develop the first policies in support of culture and the arts.

A People's Europe and the forming of the European Union

After the impetus of the 1970s, European policies were re-centred on the topic of culture with the publication of the report on "A People's Europe". Redacted by Pietro Adonnino, a first version of this report was released in March 1985, followed by an extended version in June of the same year. The endeavour to think about the idea of Europe and the way in which it relates to the work of the EC institutions must be seen in the context of reforms set in motion by Jacques Delors (then president of the European Commission), namely the Single European Act, signed in 1986, the first major revision of the foundational treaties.

On the one hand, the People's Europe report spoke of "tangible benefits" for Europeans. In an effort to make "the Community more credible in the eyes of its citizens"[72], it made way for the Treaty of the European Union signed in Maastricht in 1992 as it proposed, among other changes, the opening of borders and freedom of movement for citizens and goods, the creation of a European passport, the implementation of transnational rights of residency for the citizens of the EC member-states and new pan-European education initiatives such as the Erasmus programme. On the other, it introduced the issue of culture, claiming it is through this, as well as through communication, "which are essential to European identity and the Community's image in the minds of its people, that support for the advancement of Europe can and must be sought".[73] With a clear positive tone and presenting the development of European integration as inevitable, the report also proposed a number of new initiatives for the culture and communication sectors, including a Euro-lottery, transnational TV directives and the naming of 1988 as the "European Film and Television Year". Finally, the Adonnino Committee argued that the creation of a People's Europe "required new symbols for communicating the

principles and values upon which the Community is founded"[74] – the most important of which were the European flag and anthem.

Adopted by the Council of Europe in 1951 and then by the EC in 1986, the European flag has been the EU's most prominent emblem. According to a Eurobarometer survey of 1992, 86% of European citizens recognise it. In 2004, after the EU's widest enlargement (to 25 countries, most of the new ones from Eastern Europe, joined by Romania in Bulgaria in 2007), 87% of the people interviewed, including citizens from the new member-states, were able to confirm that the European flag was blue with yellow stars. This wide recognition, however, is at odds with the understanding of its meaning. 67% of the people questioned in 2004 incorrectly believed the flag had a star for each country (rather, there are 12 stars on the flag because this number stands for perfection and wholeness).

Even amongst scholars, contrasting explanations for its visual composition have been presented. The colour blue, for instance, is a source of dispute, as Wintle claims that, according to the makers of the flag, blue is the colour of Europe[75], but Fornäs suggests this was the only colour available to European institutions.[76] Similarly, the choice of stars proves problematic. Five-pointed to avoid Jewish connotations, these have been associated with Christian imagery, either as single objects, compared to the star of Bethlehem and thus linked to a notion of elevation as well as a sense of mission[77] or in relation to their disposition in a never-ending circle, which is similar to the Virgin Mary's halo[78]. According to Wintle, however, this circle aims to represent the strong union of the peoples of Europe[79]. Open to different readings, this symbol's significance is complex. But as is the case in national contexts, doubts about the meaning of the European flag do not undermine its impact as a tool for political communication.

Although Eurobarometer surveys provide no statistical data on the public perception of the European anthem, the latter is not as well-known as the flag. In fact, for Esteban Buch, many Europeans do not know Europe has an anthem.[80] It is possible that Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Prelude to Te Deum*, a song played before the Eurovision Song Context (a key European reference in popular culture, as stressed at the outset of this chapter), is more associated with Europe. Nevertheless, based on the Ode to Joy movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, the European anthem is an important symbol of the EU, as it embodies significant features of European culture. In addition to being a 19th century piece and thus reflecting the history of Europe, the anthem mirrors earlier attempts at the European integration process, having been used since the 1920s, for instance by the Pan-Europa movement.[81]

When the EC was considering adopting the hymn, other melodies were put forward for consideration, but Buch suggests these were dismissed in favour of a quest for excellence.[82] Mabel Berezin has noted how historically, European culture was reserved to the educated elites who normally spoke three European languages. However, as she goes on to suggest, "Post-Maastricht European identity claims to be popular and inclusive."[83] Vividly exemplifying this tension, the European anthem is a paradoxically popular classical musical piece, which aims to bring together the peoples of Europe, but is tied to a sense of exclusivity. Writing about the representation of classical music in film, Janet K. Halfyard argues that "European identity and classical music are regularly elided in Hollywood films" and generally "positioned in direct opposition to American popular culture".[84] The idea of exclusivity is also explored in coming chapters in relation to perceptions of European cinema as art cinema (often in contrast to mainstream American film), in the same

way that an association of Europe with quality is voiced through the figure of the great *auteur* – and here, Beethoven, the great composer *par excellence.*

Fornäs has stressed the fact that the EU has particularly highlighted Beethoven's status as a European composer and that "much emphasis was put on his seriousness and the way he was engaged in the complex issues of his day: issues of progress and fate, emancipation and oppression, destruction and hope, war and peace."[85] Hence, Beethoven's work was chosen not just because of its association with quality, but also with universalism. In an attempt to surpass national references (namely, German, when one considers, in addition to Beethoven, Friedrich Schiller, the author of the poem Ode to Joy), the EC decided to have an anthem with no words. However, its universality was undermined by the fact that, as Fornäs has noted, the Ode to Joy was the national hymn of the state of Rhodesia (renamed Zimbabwe in the 1980s)[86] and perhaps more significantly that the official recording of the European anthem was conducted by Herbert von Karajan, an Austrian composer who had been a member of the Nazi party.

Both the flag and the anthem highlight some of the concepts and contradictions that will be revisited in my discussion of contemporary cinema and the idea of Europe, namely tradition, stability, exclusivity, quality and universality. As the first symbols to emerge in the cultural integration of Europe, these can, as Kaelble suggests, be seen as "a sign that an elitist, merely bureaucratic regime was in crisis after some difficult referendums, and was using political symbols to compensate for its lack of transparency".[87] While the strength of the European symbols is jeopardised by the attempt to give them such general meanings, for Wintle, their vagueness is a *sine qua non* of their mass appeal and universality[88]. In fact, Michael Bruter claims they have been key in forging a collective European identity

increasingly developed since the 1970s.[89] Regardless of their sociological impact, as European symbols, the flag and the anthem testify to an active engagement of the EC in connecting with its citizens through visual representations and artistic forms of expression, on an abstract and emotional level. As such, they become a testimony to the EU's engagement with a cultural idea of Europe.

From Maastricht to Lisbon (via the failed constitution)

With the signing of the Treaty on the European Union or Maastricht Treaty (the first document to empower the EU in the cultural sector) in 1992, cultural policies and initiatives addressing the idea of Europe were further developed and assigned ever-increasing budgets. Although the Treaty on the European Union was a significant step for the inclusion of culture in the European integration process, as Shore argues, the EC was "operating a *de facto* cultural policy long before the Maastricht Treaty gave it the legal right to do so."[90] The European symbols analysed above testify to this, but so do Kaleidoscope (1996-1999), aiming to encourage artistic and cultural creation and co-operation with a European dimension; Ariane (1997-1999), devoted to the pan-European circulation of books and promoting, for instance, the translation of key literary works; and Raphael (1997-1999), complementing national policies in the area of cultural heritage. These are all examples of the significant increase in initiatives in support of culture launched throughout the 1990s – including of course the MEDIA programme, which is analysed in more detail in Chapter 2.

In line with the expanding scholarship on the meaning of Europe in the 2000s, the EU's work also saw a re-centring on culture at the turn of the 20th century. The Maastricht Treaty was followed by the treaties of Amsterdam (signed in 1997) and Nice (signed in 2001), but it was the writing of the Constitutional Treaty or European

constitution (signed in 2004 but never ratified) that triggered a crucial debate about a political conception of European identity. By examining the project for a European constitution, later abandoned and replaced by the Lisbon Treaty, this section looks at a particularly troubled period in the history of the EU, and one that raises important questions about the idea of Europe.

The constitution aimed to address the issue of legitimacy – a major critique of the EU, emerging, as we have seen, throughout its history – by bringing forward a series of institutional reforms. As peace amongst European nations and economic integration were under way, the European constitution would thus, as argued by Jürgen Habermas, bring the EU to a new phase, after having achieved the goals set in the post-war years.[91] Hence, the constitution was also concerned with the issue of European identity. Its preamble mentioned Europe's history, as well as the values shared by Europeans, namely human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and the respect for human rights – some of which had already been listed in the Declaration of 1973. The constitution further updated the symbols of the EU, listing them explicitly as the flag with the 12 stars, the anthem based on the Ode to Joy by Beethoven, the currency of the euro, Europe Day on the 9th May and the motto "united in diversity".

At the core of Europe's economic integration, the euro's significance extends beyond the financial realm. Its symbol, €, is based on the Greek epsilon letter, with its connotation being severely questioned at the time of writing this thesis, as Greece is suffering a particularly severe financial crisis and might be leaving the currency. The meaning of Europe Day, another symbol listed in the constitution, can instead be found at the roots of European integration, as it commemorates the signing of the Schuman Declaration on the 9th May 1950, a document that expresses "a wish to

maintain peaceful relations in light of the grim experiences of two disastrous European wars"[92]. But just as discussions about the future of the single currency highlight existing tensions between European nations (especially the way in which Greece and Germany are portrayed as opponents in media across Europe), so does Europe Day stress the regional divisions still at play in the continent. As Nicole Scicluna notes, the 9th May is "also the anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany in 1945" and "for central and eastern Europe, the end of World War II brought not only victory and liberation, but further defeat, occupation and oppression."[93] Although they signify a strong institutional will to have a visual representation of political integration, when analysed in detail, these symbols prove also divisive, questioning the unity of contemporary Europe.

A similar tension is highlighted by the final European symbol listed in the constitution, the motto "united in diversity". According to Fornäs, this has been used since the 1960s, although informally and with slight variations. "Unity in difference", for instance, emerged as the winner of a competition organised by a French journalist in 1998, which asked school pupils to send in proposals for a European motto.[94] Chosen by a jury chaired by Jacques Delors, the motto expresses the opposition between Europe and individual nations but also the existence of different cultures, religions and languages within the continent. Significantly, the motto begins with a reference to unity – in the same way that this thesis is based on the premise that it is possible to think of Europe as a cohesive concept. The European audiovisual market, for instance, has been conceptualised as a new international commercial space. At the same time, however, difference is a key concept in my examination of the European film industry and the way the MEDIA programme proposes to contribute to its development – as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The tension between a unifying idea of Europe and the major divergences that characterise the continent's past and present (in line with what Morin labelled Europe's dialogical essence) are further analysed in Chapters 3 and 4 in relation to heritage sites and urban space, as well as, for instance, cultural diversity and the way theis is represented in contemporary European cinema.

The legal status of the symbols contained in the constitution was severely questioned with its rejection in public referenda in France and the Netherlands. After the votes, the project of a European constitution was dismissed and a new amending treaty was signed in Lisbon in 2007. There is no mention of values or symbols in the latter; the most striking differences between the Constitutional Treaty and the Treaty of Lisbon are, as Scicluna notes, precisely to be found in the way "they relate to expressions of an incipient European identity"[95]. The fact that such emblems do not feature in the most recent treaty has not prevented citizens and institutions from using them. However, their absence from the final text constitutes a step backwards in the EU's institutional commitment to cultural ideas of Europe. At the same time, Europe's Christian heritage, for instance, was the subject of an unresolved dispute between Poland and other member-states and, when mentioning Europe's past, as Scicluna goes on to note, the EU "had to settle for the somewhat bland 'religious and humanist inheritance'"[96].

Although abandoned, the constitution remains an important reference point to understand the role of culture in Europe's political history. In fact, its rejection constitutes a milestone in the European integration process, as it marks significant changes to the way in which the idea of Europe is featured in official EU documentation. For instance, the President of the European Commission has stressed the fact that the word identity was explicitly removed from revised versions of the

Constitutional Treaty after strong criticism.[97] This takes place at a time when, as argued by Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, the term "identity" loses currency. For them, identity either tends to mean too much or too little. And because of its "multivalent, even contradictory theoretical burden"[98], it becomes, as they suggest, a useless term.

Echoing the questioning of the term in the academic context, for Barroso, "one recognises identity, one does not define it. Europe can be recognised, but it is hardly defined."[99] Recent EU documents thus present the idea of Europe as a fluid and shifting concept – a vagueness that, as Wintle has argued in relation to the European symbols, is seen as necessary for a widespread acceptance of the European political integration. After its widest enlargement ever and with the development of multiple and fragmented identities in a global world, Europe has become increasingly diverse, making the task of bringing its peoples together considerably more difficult. Universality thus appears as a bid for an idea of Europe that must appeal to all.

The EU's reaction to the rejection of the constitution was to offer a less precise definition of Europe. The investment in culture has not ceased (on the contrary, budgets have continued to expand), but a new discourse, which refuses pre-defined ideas of Europe and places an emphasis on diversity (as testified by the European Commission's ratification of the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity in 2006), emerges. At the same time, new areas of action have been developed. Reading the dismissal of the constitution not as a refusal of integration but as a distancing from its citizens, the European Commission made communication a priority of its work after 2005. A new website was launched, as well as a EU channel on YouTube – something I come back to in Chapter 2. Simultaneously, according to a high-ranking EU official I interviewed at the European Commission, since the signing of

the Lisbon Treaty there has been a growing understanding by EU institutions that "soft" policy areas such as education, citizenship and culture are key to building a sustainable political project. For this EU policy-maker, citizenship is a more solid term than any of the European values listed in the constitution, which he dismisses as only useful as a political discourse. The EU thus seems to have moved from a theoretical to a more practical conception of Europe. In line with the neo-functionalist view of European identity shared by the EC founding fathers, who believed people would naturally feel more European as economic integration proceeded and peace flourished in Europe, the EU's official stance after 2005 contends that the idea of Europe will naturally emerge from the work carried out by the European institutions, especially in a new context of further transparency and proximity to the people they represent, rather than from any institutional attempts to pinpoint the meaning of this concept.

In the second half of this chapter, I highlighted three key phases in EU cultural policy, also looking at the debates held within its institutions about the meaning of the idea of Europe. First, I considered the initial impetus of the 1970s, which placed Europe between the nation and the globe and established ties with its citizens through annual surveys. Second, I examined the launching of European symbols, as well as a series of initiatives in support of culture in the late 1980s, then reinforced by the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty. Finally, although budgets for the arts sector continue to expand, I argued there has been a shift from a prescriptive to a practical (and ever more diffuse) view of European identity following the refusal of the European constitution in the early 2000s.

This brief historical survey allows for a comparative analysis of notions of European identity as understood by European institutions and the idea of Europe

emerging in academic writing of the past 50 years. Influencing each other, both narratives meet at key points in history, with new approaches in the social sciences and humanities and the development of political integration motivating the increasing interest in the topic. But despite sharing a number of definitions, scholarly and institutional accounts also differ in the perspectives they adopt when defining the idea of Europe.

Conclusion: the meaning of Europe

Taking as a springboard a review of the literature on the idea of Europe, this chapter shows that the evolution of attitudes towards it has not been linear, with support and scepticism varying at different periods and Euro-phobia and Euro-euphoria often coexisting in time. Visions of Europe are entrenched in paradigm shifts and wider reflections taking place in the society it is part of – namely, the rise and fall of nationalism and the state of the economy, among other aspects. From the citizens' point of view, allegations of lack of legitimacy have undermined the EU's significance; at the same time, from a scholarly perspective, Euro-centrism has led many to question the relevance of Europe in the world. Despite this, or precisely because of the passion generated by this concept, a significant number of attempts have been made to pinpoint its meaning.

The variety of approaches identified here suggest even a geographical conception of Europe is problematic. In the first half of this chapter, I covered chronological (Morin, for instance, sees Europe as a project that is meant to be; whereas Derrida stresses the need for Europe to overcome its colonial past) as well as cultural perceptions of Europe (with Denis Hay being one of the first scholars to identify its links with Christianity). Europe has, of course, also emerged as a political

concept. Institutional views (the work of the founding fathers, such as Altiero Spinelli), as well as critical perspectives from scholars (García and Delanty) questioning the topics of legitimacy, the opposition between citizens and elites, ideology and communication were thus discussed.

Since the 2000s, objective notions inherited from political sciences such as borders and citizenship have also been put forward for an understanding of the idea of Europe, at the same time as sociologists such as Shore and Sassatelli have questioned the extent to which the EU, its institutions and programmes provide a form of identification with the continent. Finally, I have highlighted the work of historians, including Wintle and Passerini, who believe Europe can be characterised through references to its past. Historical conceptions of the idea of Europe stress key moments for its development and pinpoint some of its main influences, providing its definition with a sense of authority and universality.

The EU also uses some of these definitions. First, it adopts from scholarly writings the principle that European identity, as other forms of identification, is multi-layered. It positions the idea of Europe in relation to a signifying "other", to be found in global and national spheres. On the one hand, Europe is positioned in the world through the pinpointing of universal allies and partners as in the Declaration of 1973; more recently, the EU looks for further affirmation as a global actor through a series of new policies (in areas as diverse as climate change and environment or the audiovisual sector). On the other, the relationship between European countries is defined in relation to the EU's motto, "united in diversity", which has, in recent years, stressed the latter term.

The past has both been seen as an "other" – since Europe is perceived as belonging to a historical continuum where ideas of progress and improvement are

key – and as a privileged element in the definition of Europe. EU official documents suggest history is at the core of the meaning of the idea of Europe. But the most concrete characterisations of the continent emerge through the values listed in the Declaration on European Identity and the failed Constitutional Treaty (democracy, freedom and human rights, among others), as well as the symbols used since 1986, which bring forward keywords such as Christianity, exclusivity, cosmopolitanism and universality. These general values are in line with the elusive approach towards the idea of Europe the EU has had to adopt since the rejection of the constitution. The work of European institutions has been characterised by a permanent tension between wanting to actively promote and define the idea of Europe and choosing to remain an observer of its development, between adopting a prescriptive or descriptive role. For the EU, the idea of Europe has in recent years become more and more about the formation of a community and less and less about a clear definition of what propels its unity

Either characterised through keywords (such as universality or diversity), synonyms and related terms (namely, citizenship), or key features (for instance, the fact that it is layered and defined in the face of the "other"), the idea of Europe emerges as complex. While its relationship to European cinema can be thought of in relation to issues of representation (the methodology adopted in Chapters 3 and 4), the idea of Europe also allows for a reflection on the ways in which the adjective "European" is used to qualify contemporary films – for instance, in terms of categories such as the European *auteur* and art cinema mentioned before, or, negatively, as in the expression "Euro-pudding". The next chapter is specifically concerned with these issues, as it looks at the current state of the European film industry. Also offering a detailed examination of the MEDIA programme, it

questions the way in which the EU's support for the audiovisual industries contributes to the pinpointing of, but also the emergence of contradictions within, the idea of Europe.

Endnotes

[1] For more on this, see for instance the Association for the study of Sport and the European Union (http://www.sportandeu.com) and the Eurovision Research Network (http://www.eurovisionresearch.net/).
[2] Cited in Gianni Riotta, 'Umberto Eco: "It's culture, not war, that cements European identity"', in *The Guardian*, 26 January 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jan/26/umberto-eco-culture-war-europa, accessed online 04/04/12
[3] 'Myths and Rumours debunked', http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/communication/take_part/myths_en.htm, accessed online 13/04/12
[4] Dimitris Eleftheriotis, *Popular Cinemas of Europe* (New York: Continuum 2001), 1
[5] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001)
[6] Joseph Llobera, 'The Role of the State and the Nation in Europe' in *European Identity and the Search for legitimacy*, ed. Soledad García (London; New York: Pinter for The Eleni Nakou Foundation and The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1993),78
[7] Bo Stråth, 'A European Identity', in *European Journal of Social Theory* 5:4 (2002), 388
[8] Cited in Monica Sassatelli, *Becoming Europeans* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 20
[9] Dennis Hay, *Europe: the emergence of an idea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957)
[10] Altiero Spinelli, *The European Adventure* (London: Charles Knight & Co, 1972), 7
[11] Edgar Morin, *Penser L'Europe* (Paris: Gallimardi, 1987), 191
[12] Jacques Derrida, *The Other Heading*, trans. Pascalle-Anne Bault and Michael B. Naas (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 14
[13] Soledad García, 'Europe's Fragmented Identities and the Frontiers of Citizenship', in *European Identity and the Search for legitimacy*, ed. García (London; New York: Pinter for The Eleni Nakou Foundation and The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1993), 1
[14] Richard K. Herrmann *et al* (eds.), *Transnational Identities* (Lanham, Md.; Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004)
[15] Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein (eds.), *European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
[16] García, 1993, 3
[17] Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), 5
[18] Michael Wintle, *The image of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3
[19] Ibid., 407
[20] Mabel Berezin, and Martin Schain (eds.), *Europe Without Borders* (Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003)
[21] Étienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe?* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003)
[22] Herrmann *et al*, 2004
[23] Franz C. Mayer and Jan Palmowski, 'European Identities and the EU', in *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:3 (2004), 573-598
[24] Sassatelli, 2009
[25] Luisa Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999)
[26] Luisa Passerini (ed.), *Figures d'Europe* (Brussels: P.I.E. – Peter Lang, 2003)
[27] Wintle, 2009
[28] Ibid., 151
[29] Ibid., 281
[30] See for instance George Steiner, *Una Certa Idea di Europa* (Milano: Garzanti Libri, 2006)
[31] García, 1993, 5
[32] Anthony Pagden, *The Idea of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
[33] Wintle, 2009, 463
[34] Stuart Hall, 'In But Not of Europe: Europe and Its Myths', in Passerini, 2003, 38
[35] Passerini, 2003, 16
[36] Pagden, 2002, 42
[37] Hall, 2003, 43
[38] Wilbur Zelinsky, 'The Twinning of the World: Sister Cities in Geographic and Historical Perspective', in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81:1 (March 1991), 1-31
[39] See for instance, García 1993 and Delanty 1995
[40] Chris Shore, *Building Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000)
[41] Ariane Chebel D'Appollonia, 'European Nationalism and European Union' in *The Idea of Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

[42] Mikael af Malmborg and Bo Stråth, *The Meaning of Europe* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002)
[43] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Revised Edition (London; New York: Verso, 2006 [1983])
[44] Ibid., 26
[45] Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009, 225
[46] Delanty, 1995
[47] See for instance Wolfram Kaiser, *Christian Democracy and the origins of European union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
[48] Krishan Kumar, 'The Idea of Europe', in Berezin and Schain, 2003, 34
[49] José Manuel Durão Barroso, 'Identidade Europeia/Identidades na Europa', in *Identidade Europeia, Identidades na Europa*, ed. Isabel Capeloa Gil (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2009), 21
[50] Derrida, 1992, 83
[51] Anthony Smith, 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity' in *International Affairs* 68:1 (1992): 70
[52] See for instance, García 1993, D'Appollonia 2002 or Martin Kohli, 'The Battlegrounds of European Identity' in *European Societies* 2:2 (2000), 113-137
[53] Gerard Delanty, 'What does it mean to be a "European"?', in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 18:1 (2005), 11-22
[54] Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe*, trans. Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge: Polity, 2008)
[55] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism* (London: Penguin Books, 2007)
[56] European Commission – Climate Action, 'The EU at the forefront of international efforts', http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/brief/eu/index_en.htm, accessed online 10/04/11.
[57] Derrida, 1992, 76
[58] J. Peter Burgess, 'What's so European about the European Union?: legitimacy between Institution and Identity', in *European Journal of Social Theory* 5:4 (2002), 479
[59] Shore, 2000, 28
[60] See for instance Wintle, 2009, 456; and Shore, 2000, 104
[61] García, 1993, 3
[62] Michael Wintle (ed.), *Culture and Identity in Europe* (Hants: Avebury, 1996), 24
[63] Sassatelli suggests this is in fact a quote from Jack Lang, French Minister of Culture in the early 1980s (2009, 46); whereas Gil attributes it to Hélène Ahrweiler (2009, 7).
[64] Margot Wallström, Vice-President of the European Commission in charge of Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, 2008, '35th Anniversary of Eurobarometer', http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/paris/paris_en/home.htm, accessed online 24/09/11
[65] Michael Bruter, *Citizens of Europe?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); see also Sophie Duchesne and André-Paul Froigner, 'Is There a European Identity?', in *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance*, eds. Oskar Niedermayer and Richard Sinnott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
[66] Shore, 2000, 31
[67] Peter Bugge, 'A European Cultural Heritage?' in *Rethinking Heritage*, edited by Robert S. Peckham (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 62
[68] 'Declaration on European Identity' in *Bulletin of the European Communities* 12 (December 1973), 118-122
[69] Ibid., 118-122
[70] Ibid., 118-122
[71] Luisa Passerini, 'From the Ironies of Identity to the Identities of Irony', in Pagden 2002, 194
[72] 'Report on a People's Europe (29 March 1985)', in *Bulletin of the European Economic Community* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985), http://www.cvce.eu/obj/Report_on_a_People_s_Europe_29_March_1985-en-e5da4b30-6c79-483c-94bb-96b0fe0c6579.html, accessed online 26/09/11
[73] 'Report by the Committee on a People's Europe submitted to the Milan European Council (Milan, 28 and 29 June 1985)', in *Bulletin of the European Economic Community* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985), http://www.cvce.eu/obj/Report_by_the_Committee_on_a_People_s_Europe_submitted_to_the_Milan_European_Council_Milan_28_and_29_June_1985-en-b6f17ee2-da21-4013-9573-c2b159f86ff5.html, accessed online 26/09/11
[74] Chris Shore, '"In uno plures"(?) EU Cultural Policy and the Governance of Europe', in *Cultural Analysis* 5 (2006), 14

[75] Wintle, 2009, 439
[76] Johan Fornäs, *Signifying Europe* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 120
[77] Ibid., 122
[78] Shore, 2000, 48
[79] Wintle, 2009, 439
[80] Esteban Buch, 'Parcours et paradoxes de l'hymne européen', in Passerini, 2003, 88
[81] Ibid., 91
[82] Ibid., 91
[83] Mabel Berezin, 'Introduction: Territory, Emotion and Identity', Berezin and Schain, 2003, 16
[84] Janet K. Halfyard, 'Screen playing: cinematic representations of classical music performance and European identity', in *European Film Music*, eds. Miguel Mera and David Burnand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 76
[85] Fornäs, 2012, 160
[86] Ibid., 180
[87] Hartmut Kaelble, 'European Symbols, 1945-2000: Concept, Meaning and Historical Change', in Passerini, 2003, 52
[88] Wintle, 2009, 442
[89] Bruter, 2005, 166
[90] Shore, 2000, 46
[91] Jürgen Habermas, 'Why Europe needs a Constitution', in *New Left Review* 11 (Sep-Oct 2001), 6
[92] Fornäs, 2012, 88
[93] Nicole Scicluna, 'When Failure isn't Failure', in *JCMS* (2012), 6
[94] Fornäs, 2012, 105
[95] Scicluna, 2012, 2
[96] Ibid., 7
[97] Barroso, 2009, 19
[98] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond Identity' in *Ethnicity without groups*, Rogers Brubaker (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2006 [2004]), 36
[99] Barroso, 2009, 21. My translation; in Portuguese in the original: "[A identidade] Reconhece-se, não se define. A Europa reconhece-se, mas dificilmente se define."

2. THE EUROPEAN FILM INDUSTRY AND THE MEDIA PROGRAMME

This chapter continues to explore the idea of Europe but turns the focus on the European audiovisual sector. I start by looking at the main features of the European film industry, and then examine the policies the EU has set in motion to support it. In the first half of this chapter, I offer an overview of production, distribution and film promotion and examine the implications these have for a cultural perception of European cinema. The financial and cultural analysis of the European film industry informs my discussion of the MEDIA programme, the main EU policy in this area. The second half of this chapter looks at MEDIA's historical evolution and explores its main goals. The impact of the programme is analysed particularly in relation to the distribution sector. At the same time, I question the extent to which MEDIA contributes to an institutional view of Europe and its cinema. For this, I focus on its own communication, analysing a series of short films produced by the European Commission since 2007. Throughout, this chapter lists a series of films that have been supported by MEDIA, thus introducing many of the case studies examined in Chapters 3 and 4. Films are presented by their English titles, with the original title indicated the first time each film is mentioned in the text (although not in tables, where English titles only are used due to space constrictions); in order to facilitate reading, further details (director, country of production and year) are included in Appendix C.

2.1 The European film industry

Traditionally perceived as an artistic form of expression, European cinema has often been defined by low-budget and independent productions. This has prompted examinations of the European film industry to start by questioning its existence. Such dismissal has been accompanied by a severe diagnosis of the European audiovisual sector, especially around the 1990s. Philip Schlesinger, for instance, describes the situation at the time in the following terms:

> In ten years European cinema had lost two-thirds of the audience; European films were largely confined to their national markets, the Single Market favouring US productions backed up by effective distribution mechanisms; the European star system had collapsed with European productions not attracting investment from within the EU; liberalization of television and the growth of video distribution had strengthened the US position.[1]

The problems outlined above are felt more strongly in some nations than in others; there are profitable film industries in a number of European countries, especially France, where, additionally, a noticeable rising curve in box-office and attendance has taken place since the early 2010s. The differences between countries also highlight the fragmentation of the European audiovisual sector. The perceived sense of crisis and the identification of Hollywood as the number one enemy of the European film industry were, as mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, epitomised by the GATT talks of 1993. Since then, some of the problems that characterise the film sector in Europe have been solved, but other concerns have emerged, for instance tied to the development of new technologies, such as digital projection. In the 1990s as today, these issues serve as a background to the work of the EU in the audiovisual sector.

Before moving on to an overview of the MEDIA programme, I must however pinpoint the main industrial features of contemporary European cinema. This section starts by looking at film production in Europe. In addition to examining its evolution based on key figures and statistical data, I discuss the concepts of "popular European art cinema" and "quality film". In line with the increase in transnational film production, I look at the expression "Euro-pudding", considering the way in which it has been used by critics and scholars to disparage a certain type of European co-production. Sections on film production are followed by an analysis of the distribution and exhibition of films in Europe. The first half of this chapter finishes with a section on promotion, as I reflect on the growing importance of film festivals, as well as on the role played by stars in the national and international positioning of European films.

Film production in Europe

According to the European Audiovisual Observatory (EAO), a record of 1.145 feature films (including documentaries) was produced in the EU in 2008. For the EAO, this follows a rising trend in film production in Europe, which has been growing by an annual average of 7% since 2004.[2] These figures contrast with the bleak picture offered by Philip Schlesinger above. Not only is the number of films produced in Europe increasing, it is also significantly larger than those completed in the USA, one of the world's biggest film industries and Europe's historical "other" in cinematic terms.

Taking into account such data, there should be no doubt about the "industrial" character of European cinema. The film production sector in Europe does not, in fact, seem to be in crisis; in recent years European films have been extremely successful

worldwide, including examples such as *The King's Speech* and *The Artist* (Academy-Award winners released in Europe with the support of MEDIA). But a large proportion of the European films made every year are never screened, within and beyond the countries in which they are produced. This can be explained by an insufficient distribution network – an issue I come back to later on – although it is also related to different conceptions of European cinema.

In fact, there are those who claim that Europe produces too many films in relation to its exhibition capacity. Nik Powell, deputy chairman of the European Film Academy, has argued that a significant step for Europe to improve its competitiveness would be precisely "to concentrate its resources and significantly reduce the number of films that it makes each year".[3] Powell is here privileging one particular type of film. Films that are successful with audiences – as precisely *The King's Speech*, or even wider budget productions – are, in this logic, favoured to the detriment of those unable to appeal to audiences beyond national borders, as well as art films attracting only a restricted public (generally international but limited to festival or art-house cinema circuits). The discussion about film production in Europe is thus entangled with the popular vs. art cinema dichotomy.

Popular cinema, art cinema and notions of quality

While popular film has become an increasingly relevant category since the 1990s, art cinema remains a central topic for the study of European cinema. The opposition between these two categories is at the core of the definition of European film. But as film practices become more complex, and in line with the postmodern tendency to blur boundaries by bringing opposite concepts together, new terms for the characterisation of contemporary cinema emerge.

An article by Helle Kannik Haastrup provides a key example of the synthesis that has been occurring. For her, it is necessary to look at the European film industry in light of a new category, the "popular European art film". According to Haastrup's definition, films such as *Sliding Doors* often "demonstrate a specific combination of 'difficult' narratives and engaging characters, […] fitting the profile of a traditional, bona fide European art film and doing very well at the box-office at the same time".[4] While this assessment seems to be based on a cliché and contentious argument (that popular films are not challenging), Haastrup's stress on reflection mirrors traditional perceptions of European cinema that see it as intellectually rich.

Similarly, Mary Wood has examined the rise of "quality films". For her,

> the genre has developed out of art cinema practices and represents an attempt by European filmmakers to compete with big-budget US films, at the same time as they examine serious issues arising from the European experience of life at the end of the 20th century. [5]

The "serious issues" examined seem to guarantee the quality of such films, especially as they offer a commentary on contemporary Europe. Wood thus presents Europe as a privileged space for thinking and reflection. At the same time as the potential political engagement of such films warrants their critical approval, quality films are, for Wood, extremely dependent on the figure of the *auteur* "as guarantor of originality in conceiving the project and of technical mastery of cinematic techniques".[6]

But as Wood goes on to suggest, quality films are also defined by their "high production values, large budgets and wide distribution".[7] The popular art film defined by Haastrup, like the quality film discussed by Wood, signifies both a critical

term and an industrial reality. Indeed, similar enmeshed notions emerge in the discourse of film professionals. Tom Tykwer, the director of *Lola rennt/Run Lola Run*, talks about setting up the production company X-Filme Creative Pool (of which he is a co-founder) to make "arty mainstream movies"[8]. Paradoxically, high production values are not incompatible with a cinema of *auteurs* (Tykwer's *Run Lola Run* is a good example, but other films are analysed through this prism in Chapters 3 and 4).

The superiority of the *auteur* and the preference for difficult narratives, which guarantee the exclusive lineage of European cinema, do not stop these films from appealing to audiences. Both critical and commercial success is thus tied to the quality of European film. While important for the idea of Europe, the tension between art and popular cinema has been complicated (rather than resolved) by film professionals and scholars alike. Expressions such as the ones presented here – the "popular European art film" and the "quality film" – make traditional definitions of European cinema more complex and add nuances rather than present radically new visions. The divide between the popular and the artistic is no longer clear, if it ever was; indeed the scholars quoted above appear to forget that "quality films" and mainstream art films were prominent in European cinema of the 1950s and 1960s. The popular-art film dichotomy is thus a dialectics that exists to be challenged.

European co-productions and the "Euro-pudding"

The association of European cinema with the notion of quality can also be seen in another important aspect defining it today, its increasingly transnationalism. Despite, again, this not being a new phenomenon, co-productions are a key feature of the contemporary European film industry. Luisa Rivi highlights that "it was in 1989 that

the cinema and film professional magazines announced the return of co-productions".[9] On the one hand, they stem from the sense of crisis felt in European cinema, since, as Eleftheriotis claims, "co-production is emerging as an important strategy for the survival of European cinema".[10] On the other, their resurgence is partly explained by the appearance of funding mechanisms across Europe.

A vast number of European nations have co-production agreements with countries within and beyond the continent. The French Centre National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée (CNC), for instance, supports co-productions with 52 international partners, including Algeria, Belgium, Canada and New Zealand. Spain and Portugal have also drawn agreements with a series of Latin American countries, having formed the IBERMEDIA programme. At pan-European level, the most important co-production initiative is Eurimages, a programme by the Council of Europe, which has supported films such as *Caché/Hidden*, *L'Enfer/Hell*, *Habana Blues* and *Merry Christmas* – both *auteur* and popular productions then released through the EU's MEDIA film distribution scheme. 67 feature films were funded by Eurimages in 2011. Since the launching of the fund in 1989, an average of 50 films has been produced every year. The official webpage of Eurimages is probably the only source offering centralised and pan-European data on co-productions and, according to the figures available online, there has been no significant evolution trend. However, the number of agreements being developed, as well as the growing list of countries involved, suggests cinematographic co-productions have been expanding in Europe, in number and diversity.

In addition to involving a financial transaction, co-production agreements always have a cultural dimension. Location shootings, the languages spoken during production and on screen (related, for instance, to issues of dubbing), the nationality

of the cast and crew and the capacity of the stories told to appeal to audiences in different countries are some of the aspects to be considered. Equally, these are the elements of co-productions often dismissed by critics, especially through the expression "Euro-pudding". Particularly associated with the cinema of the 1980s and 1990s, this notion is still used today. While there is no systematic study of the meaning of the Euro-pudding, it often features in reviews, articles and conference papers. Aspects raised by critics and scholars concern these films' transnational scope, with a preference for historical themes[11], the fact that, having an international crew and cast, they aim for the "highest star quality available"[12], and the use of English as a cinematic *lingua franca*[13]. In a piece on the major trends of the contemporary European film industry, José Enrique Monterde cites as an example the film *Goya's Ghosts* – a transnational historical production shot by Czech director Milos Forman, casting American actress Natalie Portman and Spanish star Javier Bardem.[14] Set in Spain and having at the centre of its plot one of the most important Spanish painters of all time, the film is spoken in English, including by non-native speakers (Bardem), with implications for the perceived authenticity of the narrative.

While co-production remains a much-appreciated mode of production for the European film industry, the term "Euro-pudding" is often used to disparage the films it refers to. The French and Spanish co-production *L'Auberge Espagnole/Pot Luck*, for instance, was planned to receive the international title of Euro-pudding by suggestion of the director, but, as noted in the *Guardian*, "the distributors worried that this might be construed as too negative."[15] In a piece on transnational German cinema, Randal Halle expresses a similar derogatory view, by arguing the

> 'Euro-pudding' arose as a term to denounce such productions whose good intentions so often yielded such bland results. Even if the films aspired to an art film status, they appealed to the lowest common denominator of cultured interest with little hope for broad social or political resonance.[16]

The Euro-pudding, as understood by Halle, fails to present the "serious issues" the quality films that Wood discusses generally explore. Considerations about the quality of such co-productions thus revisit old perceptions of European cinema by making the terms "intellectually challenging" and "good" equivalent.

An apparent contradiction in terms, co-productions between European countries have guaranteed the development of smaller national cinemas at risk in this period[17], as well as *auteur* films such as the ones by Danish filmmaker Lars von Trier.[18] But the financial aspects of films labelled as "Euro-puddings" have also been dismissed. For Eleftheriotis, this is "a term used to describe a co-production that is determined by the necessities of funding rather than the desire of the makers to work together".[19] Although co-productions were also financially motivated in the 1950s[20], the Euro-pudding represents a recent trend, which, for critics such as Randal Halle, has developed with the access to new support mechanisms such as Eurimages. For these critics, only those co-productions that guarantee the survival of specific film industries or the career of European *auteurs* are good. In direct opposition to a cinema of alleged superior value, the Euro-pudding emerges as a synonym for the "bad" type of co-production, as, by contrast, Halle for instance mentions as examples of successful co-productions funded by Eurimages Krzysztof Kieslowski's *Three Colours* trilogy, Lars von Trier's *Europa* and Alain Berliner's *Ma vie en rose/My life in pink.*

At the same time, the fact that the expression was firstly used to characterise

films partially funded by public initiatives has led to a dismissal of international audiovisual policies. Monterde sees the Euro-pudding as a vehicle for fabricated identities, claiming this is a process orchestrated by the EU. For him, Euro-puddings look "like a lab product, something to which the well-intentioned but nonetheless lethal initiatives from the MEDIA programme strongly contribute to"[21]. MEDIA, as we will see, does not award funds for the production of films; this statement nevertheless illustrates a common condemnation of European institutions emerging in the work of film critics and scholars – in the same way that Shore and others used terms such as "propaganda" to discuss the EU's role in the cultural sector.

Discussions of film production are tied to financial, as well as cultural aspects of European cinema, most prominently in its association with a sense of elevation and exclusivity. When analysed side by side with the figures presented at the outset of this chapter, such debates testify to the vitality of filmmaking in contemporary Europe. But whereas film production has been flourishing, the European distribution sector has faced more difficult challenges.

Distribution and exhibition of cinema in Europe

Origin	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008 est
US	67.3%	60.2%	63.4%	63.2%	63.2%
European films	24.6%	24.6%	27.9%	28.6%	28.4%
France	8.6%	9.2%	10.6%	8.4%	12.6%
United Kingdom	4.5%	3.9%	2.8%	6.1%	2.2%
Italy	2.2%	2.9%	3.0%	3.8%	3.6%
Germany	4.3%	3.2%	4.8%	3.8%	3.5%
Spain	2.4%	2.3%	2.8%	2.1%	1.4%
Other European countries	2.7%	3.1%	3.9%	4.6%	5.0%
European films including US co-productions	5.8%	12.5%	5.5%	6.3%	6.8%
Others	2.3%	2.7%	3.2%	1.8%	1.6%

Data Source: European Audiovisual Observatory

Table 2.1 Origin of films distributed in the EU

As Table 2.1 shows, American films largely dominate cinema screens across the continent. European films, the majority of which originates from France, account only for a quarter of the films shown. This situation has not suffered significant changes since 2004 – or indeed before, as has been discussed in relation to the GATT negotiations of the early 1990s. While this table does not break down figures according to different countries, there are, in Europe, national variations, which will be further examined when looking at MEDIA's support for film distribution.

With political and economic integration, the European film market has been expanding. But as Viviane Reding, formerly in charge of audiovisual industries at the European Commission, notes, "there are some areas where cinemas never show a European film; […] cinema goers do not see European films because we do not give them the opportunity to see them"[22]. This situation was what propelled the action of the EU, in the vein of pan-European distribution networks previously existing in Europe – namely the "Film Europe" movement of the 1920s.[23]

The disparity between the market share of US and European films highlighted in Table 2.1 has to do with the fragmentation of the distribution sector across Europe; as a policy-maker at the European Commission noted, there are an extremely large number of small distribution companies in Europe. But another reason why European films are not able to compete with Hollywood is because of the limited budgets allocated to promotion.

Film promotion: the role of festivals and stars

In a report dating from 1993, international consultants Coopers and Lybrand had already identified promotion and advertising as key development areas for the European film industry.[24] Limited integration of the production, distribution and

exhibition sectors in Europe, as well as a general lack of commercial strategies and development of marketing practices, characterise the work of the vast majority of companies operating in the European film industry. But in recent years, one key element for the promotion of projects, films and initiatives used by producers, filmmakers and institutions have been international film festivals.

The number of festivals has increased in such a way that for Vivancos, "if there is a specific feature of European cinema, it does not concern a certain type of film, hero, or a precise cinematic genre, but the number of film festivals".[25] Of course, festivals have expanded around the globe, and indeed some of the most significant events take place outside of Europe (Toronto, Sundance and Busan, to name a few), but they are particularly important for the understanding of contemporary European cinema, since they can be analysed both in artistic and commercial terms. As Vincendeau remarked in 1995,

> [s]ince the early 1980s, as the theatrical market for film has shrunk, festivals in Europe have taken on a vital role, as the only place of exhibition for an increasing number of films, at worst creating the ghetto of the 'festival circuit', but at best a springboard for media exposure and occasional release.[26]

Many of the films examined in this thesis can be seen as "festival films". Cannes, Berlin and Venice have long been authentic brands that contribute to the positioning of films within and outside Europe, together with Locarno, Karlovy Vary and Deauville, and they have been joined by a host of other, smaller events, such as the Motovun Film Festival in Croatia, IndieLisboa in Portugal or the San Sebastián International Film Festival in Spain. Sanctioned by such events (and the critics that attend them), films such as *Buongiorno, Notte/Good Morning, Night*, *A fost sau n-a*

fost?/12:08 East of Bucharest, *Auf der anderen Seite/The Edge of Heaven* or *Le Silence de Lorna/The Silence of Lorna*, examined in this thesis, become examples of a specific kind of European cinema: quality cinema.

In addition to being international markets where films are sold for distribution, festivals constitute key promotional opportunities. One way in which they maximise the media exposure of the films presented is by inviting and welcoming international stars, placed at the centre of photo shoots and press conferences. But stars also play a part in the promotion of cinema, including Euroepan cinema, on its own.

The European Commission has encouraged the development of a European star system by supporting the European Film Promotion (EFP) office and the "Shooting Stars" initiative, directed at younger actors. Despite its limited budget, the director of this programme recently claimed that: "we've now got a pan-European star system off the ground, and the networking is better than before"[27]. Daniel Brühl and Daniel Craig have participated in this project, but for a policy-maker at DG INFSO, its success is measured by the presence of these actors in Hollywood rather than in European cinema. Craig in particular can be seen as a vivid example of the "Bond" factor in promoting European stars, such as Sean Connery, Pierce Brosnan and Mads Mikkelsen, as can the "Bond girl" Eva Green. At the same time, female stars like Audrey Tautou and Marion Cotillard have made small inroads in Hollywood by becoming involved in the promotion of global European luxury brands (Chanel and Dior, respectively). But whereas Daniel Brühl's popularity seems to have reached its peak with the German production *Good Bye Lenin!* and not with the US film *Inglourious Basterds*, for actors such as Catherine Deneuve or Gérard Depardieu – recognisable in France, Europe and the world – being a star did not involve moving to Hollywood, where, on the contrary, their work was seen as a commercial and

artistic failure.[28] While there are actors who have reached high levels of popularity in other European countries, such as the above mentioned Deneuve and Depardieu, as well as Juliette Binoche, Hugh Grant, Bruno Ganz, or Kristin Scott-Thomas, being a star in Europe generally means being a star in a specific nation, especially because of language issues.

Although my thesis does not explore the extent to which stars might be seen to embody European values[29], stardom is one dimension of the textual analysis conducted in coming chapters, for instance in relation to biopics and the tension between ordinary and extraordinary individual features. In addition, stars contribute to the understanding of contemporary European cinema as they are at the same time an indication of high production values and associated with mass culture. As such, they embody but also challenge the art vs. popular dichotomy that pervades this thesis.

In many instances, the glamour and fame associated with film stars, as well as the press attention devoted to them, is, in Europe, transferred to film directors. Lars von Trier (at the centre of a major polemical incident in the 2011 edition of the Cannes Film Festival after having declared to be a Nazi) is a good example of the high-profile European filmmakers generally welcomed at festivals. Political issues related to Europe's present have been equally picked up on by the media; Fatih Akın, for instance, a German-Turkish filmmaker, has emerged as a new type of cosmopolitan director after receiving an award in Berlin.[30] The focus on directors reflects a traditional perception of European cinema as an industry of *auteurs*, where the notion of quality plays a central role. But the combination of the exclusivity of the *auteur* with the glamour of stars also becomes a further example of the blending of artistic and mainstream conceptions of film that characterise contemporary

European cinema.

Such features of the European film industry have promoted and simultaneously informed the EU's action in this domain. After the crisis of the 1990s, European cinema has experienced some improvements. The introduction of digital technologies and the expansion of film festivals, for instance, have not, however, solved the major problems in Europe's distribution sector. Part of a progressively more globalised market, contemporary European cinema is a complex object of study that offers new perspectives on the study of the meaning of "Europe". Continuing this examination, the following section is particularly focused on the MEDIA programme, analysing the way in which it expresses a European idea.

2.2 The European Union's MEDIA programme

Prompted by a desire for greater integration and a new legislative framework that enabled the work of the EU in the cultural sector, the MEDIA programme has attempted to address the main problems of the European audiovisual sector. Political and financial concerns have thus been inseparable since the programme's launching. In this section, MEDIA is analysed from three different perspectives: historical, economic and as discourse. I start by situating MEDIA in the wider European context, referring to the EU's and the Council of Europe's support for the film industry. I also look at MEDIA's place within the EU, analysing the programme's institutional features. I then examine its development, paying attention to the different initiatives launched, particularly distribution. My study is based on two case studies, the Portuguese and the British context. MEDIA is discussed in terms of the opposition between economy and culture, as it is a public initiative that contributes at the same time to the monetary and artistic development of the European film

industry. Finally, as I look for MEDIA's ties with the EU's idea of Europe, I examine the programme's external communication, from posters to websites.

MEDIA in the European political context

The first pan-European policies in support of film were only established around 1990. As discussed in Chapter 1, the launch of MEDIA must be seen in the context of the Maastricht Treaty. Before 1992, although debates about cinema in the European Community covered the cultural aspects of film, legislation could only be prepared for the economic dimension of the audiovisual sector. In any case, it was not the European Community, but the Council of Europe, the first political institution at European level that developped a programme in support of the film industries.

In this project, the focus is on the EU because this is the closest European institution to a government, with a political involvement in film industries. The Council of Europe, on the other hand, was established in 1949, to promote democracy and protect human rights, as well as the rule of law in Europe. Today, it has 47 European members, and it also includes the USA, Canada, Japan, and Mexico as observers. The Council of Europe's official webpage insists on the difference between its institutions and those of the EU, urging visitors "not to get confused"[31].

The Council of Europe supports European cinema through its Eurimages programme set up in 1989 – an initiative often wrongly attributed to the European Commission. Today, this programme has 34 members and a budget of over €20 million for 2008. MEDIA's budget will be further discussed in this chapter; it is a lot more significant than Eurimages'. For instance, since its establishment, Eurimages has supported 1.266 European co-productions for a total amount of approximately €375 million – half of the budget for MEDIA's most recent phase.

Apart from the sums invested, the main difference between MEDIA and Eurimages is that only the latter gives direct support to film production. Whereas MEDIA's budget has been allocated to pre- and post-production initiatives, over 90% of Eurimages' funding is attributed to co-productions. Conversely, in the last phase of MEDIA, 55% of the budget was devoted to film distribution, whereas only 3% of Eurimages' support was given to that area. The EU followed the Council of Europe's cultural action in the audiovisual sector, but throughout the years, MEDIA has become more significant than Eurimages.

MEDIA and EU institutions: between economy and culture

Broadcasting and audiovisual policies within the EU have a complex history, shaped by a series of tensions. One of the issues highlighted by Richard Collins in this respect refers to the divisions at play within the EU and the way the programme depends on institutional frameworks.[32] The period during which the EU's first audiovisual policies were being prepared was, as we have seen, a time of major reforms for the EU. Changes in the structure of MEDIA and the European Commission itself are not, however, exclusive to the first years of the programme.

In 2004, DG INFSO incorporated the media sector and was renamed, in full, Directorate General Information Society and Media. For Miyase Christensen, "[t]his is a moment of both institutional and symbolic significance, illustrating the Commission's determination to adopt a structural and mental frame in which the two domains [industry and culture] are not seen as essentially separate".[33] The expansion of DG INFSO and the transference of MEDIA from Culture and Education to the areas of Information Society and Media should not however be analysed exclusively in symbolic terms. While its new placement could be perceived as testifying to the

political will to underline MEDIA's industrial aspects, a more objective explanation can be presented. When the re-structuring of the European Commission took place in 2004, Viviane Reding, former Commissioner responsible for the MEDIA programme, did not want to lose the film sector. Because of Reding's renowned work, she was allowed to keep the film portfolio, having then transferred it to the new DG INFSO. For the policy-makers I interviewed at the European Commission, the transfer of MEDIA was thus irrelevant.

Despite this, these institutional changes highlight another tension characterising MEDIA throughout its history, the opposition between economy and culture. Such duality had already been identified by the EC in 1988 in a document stating that the policies developed were "designed either to make the audio-visual industry more competitive, or to give a specifically European character to the sector's cultural dimension".[34] EU film policy can be seen as shifting, or functioning in a permanent tension, between these two poles.

At the outset, the policies for the support of European cinema had a clear economic nature, partly because the EU, at the time European Community, did not have any power on cultural matters. Hence, in 1985, Jacques Delors highlighted the economic aspects of the film industry (such as the creation of jobs). By the time the first initiatives were developed, the European common market was already larger than that of the USA, which was seen by many as an indisputable economic advantage. However, we can also find evidence of a cultural conception of film in 1988, in the conclusions of a European Council meeting in Rhodes, which stated that the policies set in motion for the experimental phase of MEDIA launched the same year "contribute to a substantial strengthening of a European cultural identity".[35]

According to a policy-maker at DG INFSO, the main goal of MEDIA has

always been to develop the film industry in order to boost culture. But my interviewee also notes the shift towards the cultural sector that took place in 2007, as the programme became more concerned with issues such as citizenship. The prominence of the programme's cultural and industrial concerns at specific moments in time are thus in line with the development of the European integration process more generally, especially the major changes discussed in Chapter 1.

MEDIA overview

After the naming of 1988 as the "European Film and Television Year", in 1989 an experimental phase of MEDIA (*Mesures pour Encourager le Développement de l'Industrie Audiovisuelle*, French for Measures to Encourage the Development of the Audiovisual Industry) was launched. The goals of MEDIA read as below:

> To strive for a stronger European audiovisual sector, reflecting and respecting Europe's cultural identity and heritage; to increase the circulation of European audiovisual works inside and outside the European Union; [and] to strengthen the competitiveness of the European audiovisual sector by facilitating access to financing and promoting use of digital technologies.[36]

Listed online, these refer to the latest phase of the programme, MEDIA 2007. While the first statement hints at the general situation of the European film industry, at the same time highlighting the cultural nature of MEDIA, the second and third goals mention concrete actions supported by the programme. The European audiovisual sector is presented in need of help (as denoted by the use of words such as "strive"), as the EU claims the commercial aspects of European cinema need a boost (namely through the word "competitiveness"). Old and new problems are mentioned, such as access to funding and the development of digital cinema, respectively. At the same

time, the use of words such as "identity" and "heritage" shows how, for the EU, films are important both as texts that represent European culture and artefacts that need to be preserved. The table below (2.2) shows the different phases of the MEDIA programme since its inception in 1992.

Phase	Initiatives / Areas supported	Budget	Countries
MEDIA I 1992 – 1995	12 initiatives, 19 after 1993, including: • Training – *MEDIA Business School* (Madrid) • Production – *European Script Fund* (London) • Distribution - *European Film Distribution Office* (Hamburg) • Cinema exhibition – *Europa Cinemas* (Paris) • Film archives – *Lumière* (Lisbon)	ECU 200 million (€175 million)	EU member countries
MEDIA II 1995 – 2001	Media II – Development and Distribution Aims to foster the development and transnational circulation of European films by encouraging and consolidating cooperation between European distributors	€265 million	EU member countries
	MEDIA II – Training Promotes the provision of training schemes in order to improve the skills of audiovisual professionals	€45 million	
MEDIA Plus 2001 – 2005 (extended until December 2006 to match the end of the EU's financial framework)	Main branch: Development, Distribution, Promotion MEDIA Plus also supported pilot projects which would improve access to European works, taking advantage of new technologies	€350 million Raised to €453.6 million because of the extra year and the 2004 EU expansion	EU member countries, including 10 new members, after 2004
	MEDIA Training (continuing from MEDIA II) Main Goals: • Improving knowledge of new technologies for producing and distributing audiovisual programmes; • Teaching business, management and legal skills; • Promoting script-writing and narration techniques.	€50 million Then increased to €59.4 million	
	i2i Audiovisual Stimulate access for funding	€1 million in 2002 and €2.2 million in 2003	
MEDIA 2007 2007 - 2013	Pre-production and post-production activities through a single programme: • Distribution – 55% • Development (single projects, catalogues, new talent, co-productions) – 20% • Promotion (market access, festivals, heritage) – 9% • Training (scriptwriting techniques; financial management; digital technologies) – 7%	€755 million <u>Increasing Budget:</u> Year / € million 2007 / 75 2008 / 93 2009 / 97 2010 / 100 2011 / 103 2012 / 105 2013 / 107	27 EU member states Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Switzerland and Croatia
MEDIA International 2008-2010	Designed to prepare proposals for possible future programme; 3 years maximum Main objective: strengthen cooperation between Europe and third countries.	€2 million 2008/2009	The call is open to proposals from legal entities in the 27 EU

Preparatory Action	Initiatives: • Training of professionals • Distribution of cinematographic works • Cinema networks	€5 million 2009/2010	Member States and any third country
MEDIA Mundus 2011-2013	Stems from MEDIA International. Main goal: as above.	€15 million	As MEDIA International

Table 2.2 MEDIA at a glance

As we can see from the table above, the budget of the programme almost doubled at every new phase, underlining the EU's commitment to the cultural sector. The focus of its initiatives, however, has been through a number of slight changes. MEDIA started by supporting 19 projects, which were then joined under two different strands. When setting up MEDIA 2007, the European Commission insisted on the need to have a single programme, chiefly focused on film distribution. Despite having gone through four different phases and the annulment of some and creation of other initiatives, for the Commission, MEDIA is an example of continuity in EU policies, as the main changes that have occurred throughout the programme's history have to do with the evolution of the film industry.

But this table also shows that one of the most significant changes in MEDIA has been based on political concerns. Whereas the first 15 years of the programme were dedicated to the development of the European film industry, the new MEDIA International initiative extends this support to non-EU members or candidate countries, at the same time promoting joint initiatives for European and American, Asian and African countries. While this project is focused on the support for European cinema within Europe, opting for an internal analysis, this change reveals an effort by the EU to be perceived as a global actor.

MEDIA initiatives: film distribution

The main focus of MEDIA is the distribution of European films. According to policy-makers at the European Commission, the more people watch European films, the greater knowledge they will have of other countries in Europe and the more European they will feel. Although the programme includes pre-production initiatives that fund project development, including the writing of scripts, a key point is that MEDIA does not sponsor film production and therefore the EU is not involved in the actual contents of European films. In this sense, the MEDIA programme adopts an approach based on "quantity" rather than "quality" – not in the sense of prestige, as in my previous use of the term, but in relation to the capacity film has to express cultural ideas. EU film policy aims to create a European cinema-going culture, as well as a growing audience, in the hope perhaps that, at a later stage, this quantity might turn into quality, that is, that the corpus of European films and spectators will grow into a European cinema that conveys an idea of Europe and a public that is in touch with this idea and helps disseminate it.

Film distribution is sponsored through two main schemes: the automatic and the selective support (see Table 2.3 below). The different ways in which MEDIA's automatic support for distribution can be applied mean that it is virtually impossible to track the impact of this particular scheme. In order to weigh up the significance of the financial aid provided by MEDIA, we must not only focus on distribution, but on the selective scheme in particular, which is also the only transnational distribution scheme at pan-European level. As stated in Table 2.3, groups of at least five European distributors can apply for MEDIA support for the release of a European film not from their own country. In view of the limited funds available, the selective scheme is based on a handicap point system, which organises films in ascending

order. Films produced in France and in the UK will be given 0 points; those from Germany, Spain and Italy 1 point; films from countries with low production capacity 2 points; and those from the latest countries to have joined the EU (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007) 3 points. A director's first or second feature will receive 2 extra points, also awarded to documentaries, animation films or films directed at children. This system highlights MEDIA's commitment to diversity, by adopting an attitude of "positive discrimination" towards countries and genres less well supported, thus also avoiding financing the biggest film industries in Europe.

	Objectives	Application procedure
Automatic Support	Encourage European distributors to invest in the co-production and distribution of films from other European countries	• Phase 1 - "generation stage": distributors declare box-office receipts from European films they distributed the year before. • Phase 2 - "reinvestment stage": after determining the amount available, support is given for reinvestment in new films from other European countries, either as co-production, minimum distribution guarantees, or distribution costs.
Selective Support	Fund distribution costs, including the cost of promotion, copies (including digital), dubbing and subtitling of European films with a maximum budget of €15 million	• Directed at groups of at least five European companies distributing a European film outside its home country. • Point system: award criteria include the number of eligible distributors, the production cost of the film, the origin of the film, its genre, the presence of the selling agent/producer as coordinator and his/her nationality. • The projects are then listed in ascending order. A group of experts examines their budgets and determines the amount of support that will be given by MEDIA.

Table 2.3 MEDIA support for distribution

The results of the calls for MEDIA support through the selective scheme can be accessed online, where lists of sucessful applicants are published. Quoting the title of the film supported, its origin, the distributors involved, their nationality and the amount of support given, these lists refer to the years 2003 and 2005 to 2008 – as outlined in the intoduction to this thesis. Given the amount and range of data

included, these lists consitute the basis of the detailed analysis of MEDIA I have carried out. On the one hand, they allow us to see how the programme works, as well as to assess its impact on different countries. On the other, they offer an overview of film distribution in Europe, highlighting some of the titles released across national boundaries.

Origin of the films released with the support of MEDIA

In this section, my analysis is focused on the calls for support issued between 2005 and 2008. I leave out the lists of 2003 for the sake of continuity – but some of the films supported by MEDIA in this year will later emerge in Chapters 3 and 4. The selective scheme competition takes place three times a year, with calls in April, July and December. In the twelve calls I have considered, a total of 212 films received support from the programme. Table 2.4 lists the number and nationality of these films. I have included all the countries participating in MEDIA in 2008, although some of them were not EU members in the early years (for instance, Bulgaria and Romania in 2005 and 2006). Others are countries external to the EU (Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland), some of them currently in negotiations for EU accession (Croatia and Iceland). All EU members are listed in the chart, even if some do not provide any films – a significant absence, which reveals the disparities within the European audiovisual sector.

Of the 212 films listed, 20% are French. With a total of 44 films distributed with the support of MEDIA in other European countries between 2005 and 2008, France's presence is thus much higher than that of any other national cinematography. It is followed by Denmark and Spain and only then by countries such as Germany, UK and Italy, considered solid European film industries.

Conversely, smaller European industries seem to export only occasional films. In this sense, these numbers reflect the state of the European film industry. On the one hand, MEDIA's objective of promoting the circulation of European films is accomplished, as films from various European countries, including France, have indeed travelled to other European markets with the support of MEDIA. On the other, it seems only natural that France, as the country producing the largest number of films in Europe, stands out in this picture.

Country	2005	2006	2007	2008	*Total*
Austria	3	3	3	1	10
Belgium	1	1	3	3	8
Bulgaria	-	-	-	-	0
Croatia	-	-	-	-	0
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	0
Czech Republic	3	-	3	-	6
Denmark	8	8	1	3	20
Estonia	-	1	-	1	2
Finland	1	1	1	2	5
France	16	8	11	9	44
Germany	5	5	4	4	18
Greece	1	-	-	1	2
Hungary	4	2	1	1	8
Iceland	-	1	-	-	1
Ireland	1	-	1	-	2
Italy	3	2	2	6	13
Latvia	-	-	-	-	0
Lichtenstein	-	-	-	-	0
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	0
Luxembourg	1	-	-	-	1
Malta	-	-	-	-	0
Netherlands	2	1	-	1	4
Norway	2	1	3	2	8
Poland	-	1	1	2	4
Portugal	-	-	1	-	1
Romania	-	2	1	2	5
Slovakia	-	-	-	1	1
Slovenia	-	1	1	-	2
Spain	10	5	4	1	20
Sweden	3	-	1	2	6
Switzerland	-	2	2	1	5
UK	5	5	3	3	16
Total	69	50	47	46	212

Table 2.4 Origin of films distributed with the support of the MEDIA Selective Scheme 2005-2008

The lists available online also include the amount required by and the support given to the various applicants. MEDIA support covers around 30% of the distribution costs of each film receiving funding, regardless of their origin and the nationality of the distributors involved. The impact of the programme should thus be assessed in relation to the number of films from different European nations distributed in other countries. However, this poses a number of difficulties. Firstly, the only institution organising data at macro level is precisely the EU. Even if conducted by independent agencies, EU reports will only answer the questions asked by the European Commission. Secondly, MEDIA covers over 30 participating countries and to gather data referent to the 212 films identified above would be extremely complex. Finally, the figures relative to how many films are distributed with the support of MEDIA only make sense when compared to the total number of films released in each country and to the reality of each country's own film industry and film market.

The next section is centred on two particular countries, Portugal and the UK, carrying out two case studies of MEDIA's impact on the distribution of European cinema within the continent. I have chosen to focus on these two countries as I have privileged access to data concerning their film industries, living and writing this thesis in the UK (and therefore being able to consult specialised resources, such as those available at the BFI) and having studied cinema and worked in the film sector in Portugal. Language also played a role in my decision. Studying the film industries of countries in Eastern and Northern Europe, for instance, would have posed further problems. And although I could have also looked at Spain, Italy or France, as a small audiovisual market traditionally characterised by its artistic productions, Portugal

offered a particularly engaging counter-point to my analysis of film in the UK.

The impact of MEDIA in Portugal and the UK

Indeed, despite being both western European countries, there are major differences between Portugal and the UK in terms of their film industries. Portugal completes an average of 15 films every year. Only seldom do these films travel outside the country, and when they do, they are generally exhibited at film festivals, rather than in commercial cinema screens. *Auteur* films tend to be co-produced with other European countries, particularly France, as is the case for the films directed by Manoel de Oliveira. The majority of films released in Portugal are US productions. The same occurs in the UK, despite its much stronger production capacity and the UK being one of the key European film industries. This is partly – but not exclusively – due to its privileged connection with Hollywood (language, of course, playing an important part in the UK's ability to export its films). At the same time, however, the acceptance of foreign language films in the UK is lower than in Portugal, where subtitled films are the norm, in theatres and TV screens.

	Number of Films released	2005	%	2006	%	2007	%	2008	%
PT	Total	267	100	286	100	274	100	234	100
	US solo	101	37	120	42	127	46	84	36
	Portuguese	13	5	22	8	17	6	15	6
	NNE including co-productions	83	31	77	27	66	24	69	29
UK	Total	467	100	505	100	516	100	527	100
	US solo	137	29	190	37	184	36	204	39
	UK	61	13	83	16	77	15	82	16
	NNE including co-productions	80	17	63	12	80	16	88	17

Data Source: ICA – Instituto do Cinema e Audiovisual and UK Film Council

Table 2.5 US, national and non-national European (NNE) films released in Portugal and in the UK 2005-2008

Table 2.5 presents the number of US (excluding co-productions), national and non-national European films released in each of these two countries. The UK not only produces a larger number of films than Portugal, it also has a bigger film market, where more titles are released each year and audience numbers are higher. The table in the previous page shows that the number of US films released in Portugal and in the UK is similar, and in both cases largely superior to the national films distributed. Although this table does not represent the market share (revenue) of US and non-national European (NNE) films – in which case the figures for US films would be much higher than 30% – we can see how in Portugal the number of US films is only slighter larger than the NNE films distributed, whereas in the UK they represent the double. In fact, the major difference between Portugal and the UK in terms of the origin of the films released is seen in the NNE films. In absolute terms they are fairly the same in both countries, but in fact they represent a much higher percentage in Portugal. The stronger presence of European films in Portugal might be related to subtitling practices, as well as, as noted above, to a greater openness to foreign languages. But this difference also highlights the major disparity between the two countries in terms of their production/distribution ratio. Whereas in Portugal the percentage of national films is much smaller than non-national European films; in the UK, these have similar market shares.

	NNE including co-productions	2005	%	2006	%	2007	%	2008	%
PT	Total	83	100	77	100	66	100	69	100
	MEDIA support	24	29	22	28	14	21	25	36
UK	Total	80	100	63	100	80	100	88	100
	MEDIA support	24	33	17	27	25	31	17	19

Data Source: ICA – Instituto do Cinema e Audiovisual and UK Film Council

Table 2.6 NNE films released in Portugal and the UK with the support of MEDIA's Selective Scheme 2005-2008

Another relevant comparison between Portugal and the UK has to do with the support received for the distribution of NNE films (Table 2.6). On average, MEDIA supports 30% of the films released in both countries. Despite premiering more European films than the UK, Portugal gets the same support from MEDIA. This reveals one of the paradoxes of the programme: while the positive discrimination adopted by the EU applies to the nationality of the films supported, it does not take the country in which they are released into consideration. In other words, MEDIA encourages the circulation of European films from all nationalities, but does not attempt to balance the production/distribution ratio for individual European countries. At the same time, only a closer look at these two contexts allows us to understand what films have actually been released with MEDIA funding and whereas these are different in the Portuguese and the British context.

Films supported by MEDIA

There is no overall list with all the films ever supported by MEDIA. In recent years, databases of European films have been created and are available online. These include the EFP office database[37] and the EAO's "Lumière"[38]. The latter contains information on admissions of films released in Europe, while the EFP lists films produced from 2003 onwards related to their activities – for instance, the "Shooting Stars" initiative mentioned before. Partly financed by the EU, the EACEA's MEDIA film database[39] lists some of the films that have applied for distribution support. Although they are valuable tools for a study of European cinema, the first two databases are not exclusively focused on EU support for film industries or indeed on MEDIA. The EACEA database, on the other hand, lists films from many different periods, for instance, *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari/The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, a

film from 1920, which video release of the film was eligible for MEDIA support, but is not, of course, contemporary.

The European Commission has also published another list of films supported by MEDIA, those included in a series of short films produced in 2007 – analysed towards the end of this chapter. Other sources referencing MEDIA films include fact sheets and press releases. The fact sheets show what films are selected as "good examples" of the work conducted by MEDIA, whereas Commission press releases, generally issued at the time of film festivals, highlight the importance of particular film events and the sort of achievements perceived as "news". Titles have included: 'MEDIA-funded Haneke and Loach triumph at Cannes 2012' (26 May 2012), 'European films *The Artist* and *The Iron Lady* scoop seven Oscars' (27 Feb 2012) and '26 MEDIA-funded films at the BFI London Film Festival' (19 Oct 2011).

Because all of these sources offer limited frameworks, the most complete and systematic list of MEDIA films is the one with the results of the selective scheme. Focusing on the same two case studies, Table 2.7 identifies the 128 films released with MEDIA support in Portugal and in the UK between 2005 and 2008. This table allows us to see what films are supported by MEDIA in two specific contexts but it is possible to extrapolate from it. Thus we can identify a mixture of popular and art films, of mainstream and *auteur* productions. In the same inventory we find the family drama *Le premier jour du reste de ta vie/The first day of the rest of your life* and the big budget Hollywood style *Zwartboek/Blackbook* alongside the *auteur* low-budget *Le Silence de Lorna/The Silence of Lorna* and, by the same directors, the Dardenne brothers, *Le Fils/The Son*. The British box-office success *Slumdog Millionaire* is also featured, as is one of the films in the "Astérix" series, *Astérix et les Vikings/Astérix and the Vikings*, a recent European co-production.

Only in PT	PT and UK	Only in UK
A Soap	*4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days*	*12:08 East of Bucharest*
Adam's Apples	*A Christmas Tale*	*2 days in Paris*
Alatriste	*A few days in September*	*After Midnight*
Angel	*Battle in Heaven*	*After the Wedding*
Astérix and the Vikings	*Becoming Jane*	*Back to Normandy*
Atomised	*Birdwatchers*	*Brasileirinho*
Cashback	*Blackbook*	*Brothers*
Factotum	*Frontier(s)*	*Crossing the Bridge*
Franklin and the Turtle Lake Treasure	*Funny games (remake)*	*Czech Dream*
Goodbye Bafana	*Garage*	*Dalecarlians*
Happy go-lucky	*Gomorrah*	*Dark Horse*
Hell	*Heading South*	*Dear Wendy*
It's all gone Pete Tong	*Hidden*	*Delta*
Kirikou & the wild beasts	*Home*	*Elle s'appelle Sabine*
Maradona by Kusturica	*I served the king of England*	*Emma's Bliss*
Match Point	*Johanna*	*Ex Drummer*
Merry Christmas	*Just another love story*	*Exiles*
Midsummer dream	*Lady Chatterley*	*Evil*
Mrs Henderson Presents	*Lemming*	*Fateless*
My summer of love	*Manderlay*	*Il divo*
Niko & The Way to the Stars	*Max & Co*	*Ils*
Pan's Labyrinth	*Mid-August Lunch*	*Import/Export*
Quiet Chaos	*Molière*	*In Your Hands*
REC	*No Body is Perfect*	*Involuntary*
Red Road	*Nuovomondo-The Golden Door*	*Irina Palm*
Renart the fox	*Paris*	*Lights in the Dusk*
Rumba	*Paris je t'aime*	*Longing*
Russian Dolls	*Persepolis*	*My Brother is an Only Child*
Shelter	*Princesses*	*O'Horten*
Shooting Dogs	*Savage Grace*	*Requiem*
Slumdog Millionaire	*Sophie Scholl*	*Revanche*
The Boss of it all	*Strings*	*Summer Storm*
The Broken	*Taxidermia*	*The Bothersome Man*
The Dust of Time	*Terkel in trouble*	*The Cave of the yellow dog*
The Grocer's Son	*The Beat that my heart skipped*	*The District*
The Magic flute	*The Class*	*The Edge of Heaven*
The Road to Guantanamo	*The Counterfeiters*	*The Silence of Lorna*
The Science of Sleep	*The First day of the rest of your life*	*The Snake*
The Secret life of words	*The Son*	*The Wedding*
The Ugly duckling and me	*Waltz with Bashir*	*The White Planet*
The Wave		*Time to Leave*
The World is big and salvation lurks around the corner		*Transylvania*
		Tricks
		Viva Zapatero!
		Volver
		You, the living

Table 2.7 NNE films distributed through the MEDIA Selective Scheme in Portugal and the UK 2005-2008

Curiously, we can also identify European filmmakers working in Hollywood, with the remake of *Funny Games*, directed by Michael Haneke, as well as an American filmmaker working in Europe, as in the case of Woody Allen in *Match*

Point. Non-European directors such as the Mexican Carlos Reygadas are also featured, with *Batalla en el Cielo/Battle in Heaven* – pinpointing the complexities of identifying a film's "national identity" in contemporary cinema. Other *auteur* films listed include *Trilogia II: I skoni tou hronou/The Dust of Time*, *Laitakaupungin valot/Lights in the Dusk*, *Hell*, *Manderlay* and *Volver*. Finally, there are also *Il divo*, *Gomorra/Gomorrah* and *Entre les murs/The Class*, which have all received awards at the Cannes Film Festival.

Offering a closer analysis, Table 2.8 organises the films distributed through MEDIA support in Portugal and in the UK between 2005 and 2008 into broad genres.

	Genre	Title	PT	UK
Non Fiction	Documentary	• *Back to Normandy*		✓
		• *Brasileirinho*		✓
		• *Crossing the Bridge*		✓
		• *Czech Dream*		✓
		• *Elle s'appelle Sabine*		✓
		• *Maradona by Kusturica*	✓	
		• *No Body is Perfect*	✓	✓
		• *The White Planet*		✓
		• *Viva Zapatero!*		✓
	Docu-fiction	• *The Road to Guantanamo*	✓	
Fiction	Adventure	• *Astérix and the Vikings*	✓	
	Animation – Children	• *Franklin and the Turtle Lake Treasure*	✓	
		• *Kirikou & the wild beasts*	✓	
		• *Max & Co*	✓	✓
		• *Midsummer dream*	✓	
		• *Niko & The Way to the Stars*	✓	
		• *Renart the fox*	✓	
		• *Strings*	✓	✓
		• *Terkel in trouble*	✓	✓
		• *The Ugly duckling and me*		
	Animation – Adults	• *Persepolis*	✓	✓
		• *The District*		✓
		• *Waltz with Bashir*	✓	✓
	Fantasy	• *Nuovomondo – The Golden Door*	✓	✓
		• *Pan's Labyrinth*	✓	
	Travel	• *Exiles*		✓
		• *Transylvania*		✓
	Drama	• *Battle in Heaven*	✓	✓
		• *Evil*		✓
		• *In Your Hands*		✓
		• *Involuntary*		✓

		• *Irina Palm*		✓
		• *Longing*		✓
		• *The Edge of Heaven*		✓
		• *The Secret Life of Words*	✓	
		• *Time to Leave*		✓
	Drama / Family	• *Brothers*		✓
		• *Dalecarlians*		✓
		• *Delta*		✓
		• *Hell*	✓	
		• *Home*	✓	✓
		• *Paris*	✓	✓
		• *Quiet Chaos*	✓	
		• *The Cave of the Yellow Dog*		✓
		• *The First day of the rest of your life*	✓	
		• *The Grocer's Son*	✓	
		• *The World is big and salvation lurks around the corner*	✓	
	Drama / Social	• *4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days*	✓	✓
		• *Birdwatchers*	✓	✓
		• *Dear Wendy*		✓
		• *Heading South*	✓	✓
		• *Import/Export*		✓
		• *Princesses*	✓	✓
		• *Shelter*	✓	
		• *The Class*	✓	✓
		• *The Silence of Lorna*		✓
		• *The Son*	✓	✓
	Drama / History	• *Goodbye Bafana*	✓	
		• *My Brother is an Only Child*		✓
		• *Shooting Dogs*	✓	
		• *The Dust of Time*	✓	
	History / War	• *Blackbook*	✓	✓
		• *Merry Christmas*	✓	
		• *The Counterfeiters*	✓	✓
	Biopics	• *Becoming Jane*	✓	✓
		• *Molière*	✓	✓
		• *Sophie Scholl*	✓	✓
	Literary Adaptations - Historical	• *Alatriste*	✓	
		• *Angel*	✓	
		• *Fateless*		✓
		• *I Served the King of England*	✓	✓
		• *Lady Chatterley*	✓	✓
	Literary Adaptations - Other	• *Atomised*	✓	
		• *Factotum*	✓	
		• *Slumdog Millionaire*	✓	
	Horror / Gore	• *Frontier(s)*	✓	✓
		• *Ils*		✓
		• *REC*	✓	
		• *Requiem*		✓
		• *Taxidermia*	✓	✓
		• *The Broken*	✓	
	Thriller / Crime	• *A few days in September*	✓	✓
		• *Funny games (remake)*	✓	✓
		• *Gomorrah*	✓	✓
		• *Hidden*	✓	✓
		• *Just another love story*	✓	✓
		• *Lemming*	✓	✓
				✓

		• *Lights in the Dusk*	✓	✓
		• *Manderlay*	✓	
		• *Match Point*	✓	
		• *My Summer of Love*	✓	
		• *Red Road*		✓
		• *Revanche*	✓	✓
		• *Savage Grace*	✓	✓
		• *The beat that my heart skipped*		✓
		• *The Snake*	✓	
		• *The Wave*		
	Comedy / Satire	• *12:08 East of Bucharest*		✓
		• *A Christmas Tale*	✓	✓
		• *A Soap*	✓	
		• *Adam's Apples*	✓	
		• *Cashback*	✓	
		• *Dark Horse*		
		• *Ex Drummer*		✓
		• *Garage*	✓	✓
		• *Happy go-lucky*	✓	✓
		• *Il divo*		
		• *It's all gone Pete Tong*	✓	✓
		• *Mid-August Lunch*	✓	
		• *Mrs Henderson Presents*		✓
		• *O'Horten*	✓	✓
		• *Rumba*		
		• *Summer Storm*	✓	✓
		• *The Boss of it All*		
		• *The Bothersome Man*	✓	✓
		• *The Science of Sleep*		✓
		• *The Wedding*		✓
		• *Tricks*		✓
		• *Volver*		✓
		• *You, the living*		
	Romantic Comedies	• *2 days in Paris*		✓
		• *After Midnight*		✓
		• *Emma's Bliss*		✓
		• *Russian Dolls*	✓	
	Anthology	• *Paris je t'aime*	✓	✓
	Music	• *Johanna*	✓	✓
		• *The Magic Flute*	✓	

Table 2.8 Genre of the films distributed in Portugal and the UK 2005-2008

The chart shows a significant number of animation films, which as we have seen, are given extra points for the selective scheme – particularly those directed at children. Documentary films, another genre sponsored by MEDIA, also appear. Fiction films include drama (the majority of films listed, confirming the importance of the tradition of realism in European cinema), historical and war films, as well as heritage films, one of the European genres *par excellence*. Thriller and crime films

are also abundant, as well as, more surprisingly, comedies, a genre traditionally confined to national audiences. The list however includes a number of romantic comedies, a sub-genre of comedy customarily more exportable and that has been through a significant boom in the last 15 years or so. Less predominant are adventure, fantasy and horror films. Amongst the 128 titles listed there are no action films, which, as will be further discussed, seems to define European cinema in opposition to Hollywood. There are no significant differences between the films released in Portugal and in the UK, except in the two genres not analysed in detail in this thesis: documentary (more titles distributed in the UK) and animation (more titles released on the Portuguese market).

The table thus highlights a great diversity within the films supported by MEDIA, in terms of genres, budgets and modes of production. Seen in his light, the impact of the selective scheme seems to secure the objective of cultural diversity proposed by MEDIA. However, we have seen before how most of these films originate from the same five or six European countries. Hence, the diversity of the programme seems to be compromised in national terms, while it works in relation to genre and/or budget. MEDIA released films from 24 different European countries between 2005 and 2008; its point system helped low production capacity nations to circulate their films, but not to increase their production capacity.

Having looked at MEDIA from a historical and economic perspective, I want to turn to an analysis of the discourses around the programme, beginning with what professionals of the film industry, critics and scholars have said about this initiative.

Perceptions of MEDIA's action

Because it is "just producing paper in a tower block", as one of my interviewees put it, the EU's involvement in the cultural sector can be seen as problematic. In order to minimise the criticism of the programme, the EU recognises the importance of communicating with different stakeholders. According to policy-makers, the European Commission organises groups of film industry experts, with whom regular discussions are held. These address, at the same time as they acknowledge, the lack of legitimacy that has characterised the public perception of the EU.

For the European Commission, the permanent contact with the industry makes the policies, if not totally effective, at least up-to-date. However, many have criticised MEDIA. Cultural policies at EU level arise from soft competences, in other words rules and guidelines that are not binding (as opposed to legislation). This means that the EU can support and encourage action across Europe, but cannot regulate nor harmonise the laws of the different member-states. Guidelines issued by Brussels cannot replace, but only complement what is done at national level. As a result, European initiatives for the audiovisual sector have clashed with national policies, as well as with different conceptions of film and of the role of the state in supporting local film industries. In Portugal, for instance, filmmakers have strongly criticised EU initiatives, which, in their view, see film merely as an industry and not as an art form.[40] Conversely, in countries where there is less state support for the cinema, contestation normally arises from film producers who stand against protectionist measures. This is the case of the UK, where David Puttnam argues Europe's attitude to "film as art" is "ultimately self-destructive".[41]

Similarly, Martin Dale acknowledges the EU's effort, but for him, the programme's inefficiency is caused by its dual nature as it is "caught in the

contradiction of wanting to establish an entrepreneurial European industry while being itself a form of state intervention". While recognising both aspects of the programme, the development of the industry on the one hand and the circulation of ideas of Europe on the other, Dale argues only the latter has been achieved. For him, "the MEDIA programme's principal achievement has been to circulate information and ideas within the European industry and to improve the development and distribution of smaller *auteur* films".[42] In reality, as we saw, the tables of films distributed with the support of MEDIA include both art and popular films. Dale's view is in contrast with Monterde's dismissal of the work of the EU in the audiovisual sector in relation to the Euro-pudding, as here the programme is disparaged not for encouraging the making of popular films, but for perpetuating the art cinema bias of European cinema.

In the face of such criticism, the defensive and frequently given answer by policy officers at the European Commission is that only by removing MEDIA would it be possible to find out if it has worked. For the Commission, the programme has been very effective in particular areas, fighting the fragmentation of the distribution sector and contributing to the creation of networks of film professionals. The issue of whether or not support for the audiovisual industries has worked should perhaps be seen in a scale of improvements and advancements rather than in absolute terms. Regardless, the assessment of MEDIA's impact is not a major concern of this thesis; these statements are useful for my research as they pinpoint the aspects of the programme that are most commonly discussed. Continuing the focus on the discourses on MEDIA, the next section in centred on those produced by the EU, as it analyses the programme's external communication.

Communicating MEDIA

The EU has been widely criticised for its democratic deficit, elite brokerage, bureaucratism and legalism.[43] The need to counter this view has led to a focus on promotion and external communication, particularly after the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in 2005, as was discussed in Chapter 1. The communication tasks carried out by the European Commission include the development of the website Europa (http://ec.europa.eu), the "largest public website in the world" in the words of the Commission.[44] This website testifies to the commitment of the EU to being closer to the citizens it represents, especially through new technologies. The designation "Europa" hints at the idea of universality (it comes from the myth, thus also carrying a certain historical weight), at the same time as the qualification offered by the Commissions stresses its "public" scope, also giving it a sense of *grandeur*.

The communication of the MEDIA programme is the direct responsibility of the European Commission. Since 2006, the semi-independent EACEA is responsible for the operational aspects of the programme, but DG EAC is in charge of its political, budgetary and institutional aspects (having taken over from DG INFSO in 2010). Promotional material for MEDIA has been naturally directed at film professionals across Europe, who are informed of the programme's initiatives by their national MEDIA Desks or regional MEDIA Antennas, located in all the countries participating in the programme (i.e. all EU members, as well as Croatia, Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland).

MEDIA's efforts to reach cinema professionals also include stands at film festivals and publicity in trade publications. The poster for the latest phase of the programme (Fig. 2.1), for instance, vividly illustrates the association already alluded to on several occasions between European cinema and glamour. This is reflected in

the slogan “Rolling out the red carpet” (and the actual red carpet depicted). A woman, probably a film star, walks this carpet in a formal dress, supposedly attending a premiere of a European film or a high-profile event such as an international film festival. The fact that this is set in a desert might be suggesting MEDIA brings life to the most arid places, but the neutral pastel colours and the minimalist composition of the poster also hints at a more artistic conception of film. A sense of sobriety is thus combined with the mainstream appeal of stardom, another set of contradictory values mobilised to define Europe and its cinema.

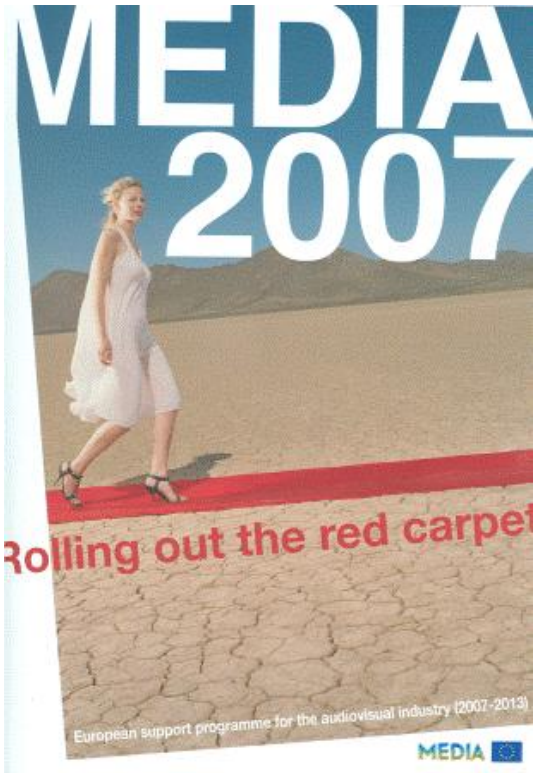

Fig. 2.1 MEDIA 2007 promo

In recent years, the European Commission has also launched a series of initiatives for the general public, aiming to familiarise it with the political initiatives launched in support of the audiovisual sector and, more specifically, with European cinema. The most important of these was the production of five short films as

promotional tools for MEDIA released in 2007. On its website, the European Commission calls these films MEDIA "clips"; throughout this chapter, I will also use this denomination.[45]

The 2007 MEDIA "clips": history and films included

First presented at the Berlin Film Festival and later at Cannes, the 2007 MEDIA clips were also available online, on the then recently created EUtube channel. Despite being launched at festivals, where DVD copies were given to people working in the cultural sector, these films were not directed at the industry but at the larger public. In this new phase in EU communication, cinema was seen as one of the most interesting, if not "cool", intervention areas of the EU. On EUtube, where 200 other institutional videos on various topics can be found, the MEDIA short films have been watched by over 8 million people and are clearly among the favourites on that channel. The European Commission's webpage, as well as the EUtube channel, are not mainstream communication platforms and not many people have seen these clips. In fact, on their own, they could be argued to be not that important. However, they are particularly relevant for this project as they work as a *mise-en-abyme*, mirroring the EU's idea of Europe in European cinema.

Composed of extracts of European films supported by MEDIA, these consist of one "best-of" clip and four thematic short features: one clip on joy, two clips on love and one clip on sadness. By choosing to promote its major programme in support of film in these terms, the European Commission seems to insist on the power of universal values. The selected themes also, importantly, testify to the creation of an emotional, rather than rational, connection between the public and the institutions of the EU. At the same time, the clips arguably highlight the overconfidence of the EU

in appropriating such general topics. Joy, love and sadness could hardly be seen as specifically European (just like human rights or pluralism, cited in the Declaration on European Identity signed in 1973).

8 Women	*Merry Christmas*
Amélie	*Noi the Albino*
All About My Mother	*Pot Luck*
As it is in Heaven	*Secrets and Lies*
Bad Education	*Sophie Scholl*
Belleville Rendez Vous (Music)	*The Best of Youth*
Billy Elliot	*The Chorus*
Breaking the waves	*The Dreamers*
Girl with a pearl earring	*The Man Without a Past*
Good Bye Lenin!	*The Pianist*
Habana Blues	*The Sea Inside*
Head-on	*The Son*
Life is Beautiful	*Volver* (Music)

Table 2.9 Films featured in the 2007 MEDIA "clips"

As the table above shows, clearly a decision has been made not to privilege any particular genre or nationality. There are mainstream (*Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain/Amélie*) and *auteur* (*Mies vailla menneisyyttä/The Man Without a Past*) films; films from major European producers such as Spain (*La Mala Educación/Bad Education, Todo sobre mi madre/All About My Mother* and *Habana Blues*) and low production countries like Iceland (*Nói albínói/Noi the Albino*); independent *auteur* films (*Breaking the waves*) and major box-office successes, including Oscar winners (*La vita è bella/Life is Beautiful, Mar Adentro/The Sea Inside* and *The Pianist*). The choice of films for the clips thus seems to be dictated equally by their box-office success and their status as award winners, highlighting both European's cinema ability to produce popular films and its prestige.

Joy and love – European film stars in the promotion of MEDIA

The clip about joy, entitled *European films, what a joy!*, begins with a shot of Romain Duris's back (Fig. 2.2). We then see a close-up of the French actor in *Pot Luck*. It is followed by a short wide shot of Jamie Bell in *Billy Elliot* and a quick cut to a close-up of Ludivine Sagnier and Catherine Deneuve, in *8 Femmes/8 Women*. In the first shot Duris is running, in the second shot, Jamie Bell dances. So do the French actresses, who move their heads (seemingly) to the sound of the cheerful soundtrack of *Belleville Rendez Vous*. In other shots (including scenes from other European box-office successes such as *Amélie*, *Good Bye Lenin!*, and *Life is Beautiful*) we see people screaming, jumping and celebrating.

Fig. 2.2 Romain Duris in *Pot Luck* featured in *European films, what a joy!*

Discussing the preparation of the clips, a policy-maker at DG INFSO (at the time the European Commission department responsible for the running of MEDIA) declared that one of the major difficulties in putting these films together was to do with the decision regarding what actors to include. The European Commission tried to choose recognisable faces, but this had a different meaning for each of the nationalities present at the discussion. A well-known Spanish actor would not be recognised by the German representative, who in turn wanted to include a German actress who was unknown to the Danish people. This highlights the problems

inherent in defining a European star system, as discussed above, but also the fragmentation of the film industry in Europe.

The final scene of the short film about joy is a long shot of cinema audiences, superimposed with the slogan: "with pleasure". The image then dissolves into the MEDIA logo and the final comment: "50% of all European films in cinemas every year. Europe supports European films" (Fig. 2.3). The joyful character of the images, edited for the pleasure of visual spectacle, gives way to the first concrete statement about MEDIA's action.

Fig. 2.3 Last shot of *European films – what a joy!*, common to all the clips

However, the slogans superimposed on the final images of cinema audiences do not mention the EU or the European Commission (although they include the blue 12-starred flag), but insist that it is "Europe" who supports European cinema. Such a designation might once more reflect the arrogant attitude of the Commission in making EU and Europe equivalent terms, but it also hints at another communication problem. In fact, "Europe" has become a synonym for the EU, especially in Euro-sceptic countries such as the UK. At the same time, by choosing to use "Europe" rather than "EU", the Commission stresses a spatial and cultural identification with the term, removing the political dimension. At a time when populations across

Europe seem to lose interest in politics, the best strategy for the European Commission might precisely be to remain incognito, under the designation of "Europe".

While all the short films produced by the European Commission have a similar structure and similar final scene (a cinema screen and the slogan "Europe supports European films"), the selection of scenes and music differs. Different soundtracks illustrate the various moods intended by the Commission, and so the first clip about love, *Romanticism still alive in Europe's films*, is accompanied by a 1966 classic French pop song, "Love me, please love me", by Michel Polnareff.

Fig. 2.4 Audrey Tautou and Mathieu Kassovitz in *Romanticism still alive in Europe's films*

Fig. 2.5 Slogan in *Romanticism still alive in Europe's films*

Like the previous film, *Romanticism still alive in Europe's films* starts with a shot of someone's back. In this case, it is the Spanish actress Belén Rueda, in the

Oscar award-winning film *The Sea Inside*. As she turns, the camera captures her in a close-up. The following shot shows us another famous face in European cinema, as Daniel Brühl leans against a window, looking out. With a succession of close-ups, the clip goes from scenes of people hugging, to others gazing romantically, to some couples kissing and then other couples in bed. Once more, these are extracted from recognisable titles such as *Good Bye Lenin!* and *Amélie*, finishing with a shot of Audrey Tautou and Mathieu Kassovitz in the latter film (Fig. 2.4). Images of young and beautiful European actors, such as Rueda, Brühl or Tautou make way for the final sequence (again, cinema audiences, but this time shot from the back), superimposed with the slogan "it started with a proposal" (Fig. 2.5).

This particular slogan – a pun on the word "proposal" – leads to two very different readings of the film. While the romantic message connoted in "proposal" seems to be directed at younger audiences, its other meaning betrays the EU's bureaucratic nature, so often alluded to by Euro-sceptics. Indeed, what follows is pure statistical information, contrasting with the romantic, dream-like tone of the clip and of the Polnareff song. The MEDIA logo, this time, functions as the background for the slogan "300 European film projects every year". Different clips thus mention different MEDIA initiatives; as the previous film focused on film distribution, this one refers to the support given to script development.

The decision to produce a film about the topic of love is also interesting for this thesis insofar as love relates to certain cultural conceptions of Europe. In the introduction to *Europe and Love in Cinema*, Luisa Passerini, Jo Labanyi and Karen Diehl argue Europeans have historically been seen as "superior" because of their capacity to feel and express romantic love. Although this was challenged in the 1960s, in line with critiques of Euro-centrism, as they claim, Europeans have made

the concept of love "a fundamental part of their self-image and traces of this habit still linger today"[46]. Similarly, romantic love is presented in the MEDIA clips as a *European* emotion. Just as Europe has been seen as the continent of love through literature, European cinema is here defined by its romantic character both in terms of film contents and in terms of spectatorship: European cinema itself becomes the object of this emotion. *Romanticism still alive in Europe's films* edits images of romance on screen with images that invite spectators to feel attached to European cinema. Love is thus an emotion to develop in relation to Europe's own culture and film – hinting at a cinephile passion sought for by the EU and to which I come back to at the end of this chapter.

The polemical reception of Film lovers will love this

In contrast to the romantic and nostalgic version of love in European cinema portrayed in the previous film, *Film lovers will love this* starts with clothes being taken off. The music this time is "Las Vecinas", composed and interpreted by Alberto Iglesias for the soundtrack of *Volver*. The first sequence of people getting undressed is followed by sex scenes crosscut with shots from *Amélie*, which insinuate the sexual relationship between two of the characters in the film. Shots of glasses trembling on shelves, lights going off and shadows of the couple are followed by screams and orgasm scenes. The slogan, another pun, reads "Let's come together… Millions of cinema lovers enjoy European films".

European cinema has often been seen as more sexually explicit than, for instance, Hollywood, but this particular clip also caused furore within the continent. The press coverage on this short film led to a series of catchy headlines (here translated into English), including: "The Quickies of the European Commission"

(*Diário de Notícias*, Portugal[47]); "Free Sex for European Cinema" (*La Stampa*, Italy[48]); "Polemics on a clip shot under red lights" (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, Italy[49]); "Sexy clip lifts EU YouTube debut" (BBC News, UK[50]); "It's Red Faces all round over EU's dirty movie" (*Daily Mail*, UK[51]); "Steamy Clip turns up the heat on EU" (*Variety*, USA[52]); and the openly critical "On EU Tube (LOL!), Sex Sells (Duh!)" (*The New York Times*, USA[53]). Most articles are short and in some cases opinion-based (such as Xan Brooks' entry on the *Guardian*'s film blog[54]), with the majority beginning with a report on the launching of the EUtube channel and only then discussing the particularity of *Film lovers will love this*.

Hence, in *La Stampa* we find a description of the Commission's initiative, which, according to Margot Wallstrom, a Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for its communication strategy, tries to "explain to European citizens the policies and programmes of the Commission. […] To do so in 2007, it is impossible not to use new technologies, especially those central to internet users, such as the videos on YouTube".[55] Just as had happened with the new website Europa, here the Commission places the emphasis on new technologies. This is clearly an area that was valued by the European Commission at the turn of the century, in an effort to look modern and to be in touch with European citizens, but also to reach out to young people (key voters and audiences who normally prefer Hollywood to European films).

Spanish and Italian publications such as *El Mundo*[56] and the *Corriere della Sera*[57] note this particular clip includes extracts from 18 European films and has a total duration of 44 seconds. *La Stampa* makes reference to the films integrated, highlighting that these were directed by "big names" such as Almodóvar, von Trier and Jeunet.[58] For the *Corriere della Sera*, curiously, this has also led to criticism

from cinephiles, who regret the absence of "major European film works".[59] As expected, national productions tend to be highlighted; for instance, the Spanish *ABC* mentions *Bad Education* and *All About My Mother.*[60] One contentious, and typically European, issue to emerge in the reception of this clip is language. In France, Italy and Spain newspapers also refer to criticism of the clips based on the language used. Although the copies distributed in Berlin were subtitled in the 23 official languages of the EU, the clips posted on EUtube and on MEDIA's website are exclusively in English.

The strongest critique of these clips emerged from traditionally Euro-sceptic countries and parties. Antonio Tajani, leader of Forza Italia in Strasbourg, dismissed the initiative as "superficial and reductive of the Europe of great values in which we believe".[61] Similarly, according to the BBC, "a Polish MEP from the conservative League of Polish Families has accused the Commission of using 'immoral methods' to promote itself".[62] The Polish reaction was the harshest in the EU, although British MEPs were also among those criticising the European Commission's action. For the Conservative MEP Chris Heaton-Harris, this was a clear waste of taxpayers' money. Godfrey Bloom, a UKIP MEP, on the other hand, told the BBC the clip was "tawdry and tacky", adding: "[i]t is like watching an elderly relative trying to be cool, very embarrassing".[63] Quoted by the *Daily Mail*, the UKIP representative went further, stating: "I suppose this film is appropriate. The EU has been screwing Britain for the past 30 years".[64]

The language used testifies to the strength of the reactions this clip provoked, an index of reactions to the EU itself – and indeed the European Commission was not indifferent to this. One of the "EU myths" deconstructed by DG Communication on its website (in addition to those presented in Chapter 1) describes the polemics

around this particular film and is entitled "EU promotional clip is soft porn". In response, the European Commission issued the following statement, available online:

> [T]he clip has been widely watched since then (258.000 by 12/06/07) without any negative remarks made to the Commission. Cost of one clip: €350. When the Commission published the clips on its newly created channel, EUtube, the tabloid press went into a frenzy and the effect snowballed. By August 2007 the clip in question had been viewed over 4 million times![65]

The Commission's explanation has a strikingly informal tone, as testified by the use of short sentences and the exclamation mark at the end. But the questioning of the morality of *Film lovers will love this* was also addressed. Reijo Kemppinen, the European Commission's representative in London, told *The New York Times* that

> [t]he compilations were meant to convey emotion and they certainly seem to have got a reaction. In spite of attempts to whip up a scandal because of the sexy nature of one of the clips, hundreds of thousands of British people are learning more about the EU's MEDIA programme and almost all are reacting maturely and positively.[66]

Kempinnen stresses the fact that the clips provide knowledge, highlighting the idea that people need to be educated about the work developed by the EU. But his first sentence, on the search for a reaction for the sake of it, contrasts with Viviane Reding's assessment. Her view, quoted in *La Stampa*, is that:

> The real scandal is the polemic around a piece of work that was extremely well received at the Berlin Film Festival. Our films respect the values on which a multicultural Europe in built: joy, sadness, love and diversity are the feelings that express the strongest and most recognised identity of our cinema.[67]

For Reding, it is not the form (and the media frenzy around it) but the content of the 2007 MEDIA clips that is crucial, as it is seen to mirror European values. Many others however were unable to pinpoint the meaning of the clips. Xan Brook's piece in the *Guardian* follows the clip's link to the official MEDIA website to find long descriptions of various European Commission agencies. Ironically, Brook concludes: "I'm not sure quite what all this means, but it doesn't sound obviously sexy".[68] The 2007 short films produced by the Commission are thus both an attempt by the EU to reach out to the citizens it represents and a testimony to the communication failure that has characterised its work.

From joy to sadness: the EU's rhetoric on European cinema

The incomprehension towards the EU finds a parallel in sadness, the topic of the final thematic short film, *Singing the blues on the silver screen*. With music from Yann Tiersen, "Comptine d'un autre été: L'après midi", from the soundtrack of *Amélie*, the initial scene is from *Girl with a Pearl Earring.* The film begins with a close-up of Scarlett Johansson and then medium close-ups of people crying. There follow scenes with Audrey Tautou, Daniel Brühl, Belén Rueda and Penélope Cruz (Fig. 2.6). People screaming include Adrien Brody in *The Pianist* and Julia Jentsch in *Sophie Scholl*, as well as the protagonist of *Amélie* as a child.

Singing the blues on the silver screen becomes another example of the use the EU makes of specific views of European cinema (in this case, the widespread notion that European films have no happy endings, as opposed to Hollywood cinema) while packaging them as universal (everyone cries). The emotions on which the clips focus are at the same time specific to Europe and general. Claims of Euro-centrism thus undermine the EU's message, as this is perceived as prolonging Europe's historical

appropriation of universal emotions.

The final shot, also in set in a cinema, is a close-up of the Argentinean actress Cecilia Roth in *All About My Mother*. The slogan reads "You are not alone. Over 100 film festivals" (Fig. 2.7). After film distribution and development, the MEDIA initiative publicised in this clip is thus the support given to film festivals.

Fig. 2.6 Scene from *All About My Mother* in *Singing the blues on the silver screen*

Fig. 2.7 Slogan in *Singing the blues on the silver screen*

In addition to four thematic clips, the European Commission created a "best of" clip entitled *European films – tapping into the talent*. To the sound of "Las Vecinas" (from the soundtrack of *Volver*), scenes from European films are edited in parallel with the slogans used in the other clips, presented against the same background. The image of cinema audiences chosen by the European Commission allows for a clearer identification of the larger public with the clips. Although new forms of distribution are supported by MEDIA, the Commission's idea of watching a

film still seems to take place in an actual theatre, not on other types of screens. The European Commission thus underlines both its support to theatrical exhibition and the sense of community (here brought together physically in the same space) created by a united European film industry. This is thus a vivid representation of MEDIA's aim to promote the creation of a cinema-going culture in Europe.

The idea of community is reinforced by the inclusion of extracts from films many spectators would recognise and especially by the final shot of audiences sitting in a cinema. As with the notion of quality film I discussed earlier, this seems to be, yet again, a cinephile audience that contributes to the formation of an emotional community. The short films select universal emotions ideal for the early stages of the creation of a community. In this sense, the community desired by the European Commission may even surpass Europe's borders, denoting once more the will of the EU to be perceived as a global actor.

The fact that the clips deal with joy, love and sadness reinforces the well-known, if not cliché, message that European cinema is about emotions. Hence, the underlying rhetoric is that these clips, like European cinema as a whole, are different from Hollywood's accent on action – we have seen how few action films are released through MEDIA's funding schemes. On the other hand, the "intellectual" image of European cinema is absent, giving way to new defining elements. The quality of these clips is not guaranteed by action and explosions, nor is it certified through beautiful photography, long shots, reflection, particular themes identified as European, *auteurs*, their names or their signatures. Instead, they rely on the presence of (relatively young) film stars with developing careers in Europe and in some cases beyond, as well as lively and engaging soundtracks from European box-office successes – testifying to a drive for more mainstream, global success for European

films.

At the same time, however, the films chosen remain tied to a notion of quality, since European blockbusters such as *Astérix and the Vikings*, a film released with MEDIA support, are not included. The clips prepared by the European Commission give a cohesive idea of European cinema united through universal topics (we all laugh, cry and love), at the same time as they insist on the diversity that characterises it as they integrate images from different nationalities and genres. However, this cohesive view is achieved by adopting a particular scope (the middlebrow popular European art film or quality film), leaving aside both more popular films and more avant-garde *auteur* films.

New MEDIA clips

After 2007, the European Commission produced two new clips. Not made of excerpts but shot as short films especially for MEDIA, these were not as abundantly discussed by the press or indeed as polemical. In 2010, a film ending with the slogan "European Cinema, Made for You" shows a woman accepting an award in the name of the European film public for best cinema audience. Just as in the poster for MEDIA 2007, the idea of glamour is here very prominent. The setting of the clip is a dazzling old theatre with red velvet seats and golden décor, as the situation depicted (a major public event, perhaps a festival) adds to a sense of prestige and quality. However, the character at the centre of this narrative is not a celebrity but a worker who during the last rehearsal of the ceremony, seizing an opportunity to get on stage, removes her cleaning overall (Fig. 2.8) and drops her shoes, running to steal, from the hands of the presenter, an award statue (Fig. 2.9).

Figs. 2.8 to 2.11 Scenes from the 2010 MEDIA short film *European Cinema, Made for You*

Aggressively looking at those trying to move her away from the microphone, she begins her speech, met with cheers and applauses (supposedly imagined in her head as the theatre is actually empty). "I've been watching European films since I was 10 years old", she says (Figs. 2.10 and 2.11), and the main message of the clip seems to be that such a faithful audience should be rewarded. This short film strengthens the appeal to cinema audiences across Europe, who become not just the target of MEDIA's promotion (as in 2007), but also the protagonists. Audiences are given a central role in the growth of European cinema by the EU, side by side with the initiatives they set in motion for its development.

The following year, a new clip was posted on MEDIA's website to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the programme. Here, a parallel is drawn between a romantic relationship and the evolution of MEDIA. As we see a couple getting ready to go out, a male voice over says: "it's our 20th anniversary, I didn't notice time passing by; next to you, I've started seeing the world with different eyes". The analogy suggests

watching films is also a way of gaining knowledge, addressing one of the main goals of MEDIA, an educational one: bringing European films to people across continent so they learn about other countries in the EU. The couple drive to a restaurant, where they enjoy a candlelit dinner. The husband then hands his wife an envelope that contains an old cinema ticket. In a brief flashback, the clip dissolves into a screening of *Il Postino/The Postman* 20 years before, possibly their first date.

Fig. 2.12 From father to son: handing out the "passion" for European cinema

Back in the contemporary era and in the same theatre (tellingly called "12 Stars"), the couple spot their teenage son and the father walks up to him, handing him a flame (Fig. 2.12). The clip thereby stresses ideas of continuity and tradition, conveying a sense of legacy that gives European films status at the same time as it binds people together. By depicting young audiences on screen, the clip further appeals to these particular demographics. A consolidation and potential growth of the public for European films is clearly important in economic terms. But the flame also represents the passion of watching films – and indeed, that is the slogan of the commemorations of MEDIA, featured at the end of the short film, "20 years of passion". When the young couple go inside the cinema, everyone is holding a flame, symbolising the passion for film that brings European audiences together. Once

more, Europe, as well as European cinema, is associated with love.

Conclusion: European film, MEDIA and the creation of a cinematic community

This chapter brings together three main topics explored in this thesis. Firstly, it provides insight into the European film industry, highlighting the key features of its structure as well as the main problems affecting it. Secondly, it contributes to the understanding of policy-making within the institutions of the EU. Thirdly, it introduces pointers for the examination of the idea of Europe that is pursued in the chapters that follow.

The first half of this chapter looked at the sense of crisis that dominates the European film industry. The question of whether or not the cinemas of Europe are an "industry" seems irrelevant when we consider the large number of films produced. However, not only are a majority of these low-budget or independent productions, but limited distribution across borders also means there have been limited audiences for the European film market. My discussion of film production in Europe has led to a re-evaluation of the terms popular and art cinema, with new categories such as the popular European art film and the quality film problematising traditional conceptions of European cinema. Co-production has also emerged as a key topic for an increasingly transnational industry, both in economical and cultural terms, as a positive force yet one that is also, at the same time, criticised under the derogatory label of "Euro-pudding".

If distribution has been pinpointed as the main problem in contemporary European cinema, the growth of film festivals has created an alternative circuit and offered new promotion opportunities, as well as markers of quality. A discussion of contemporary festivals, including the role occupied by stars (actors or directors),

further offered a complex combination of notions of prestige and mainstream appeal. European cinema, like the EU's motto discussed in the previous chapter (unity in diversity) emerges from a series of tensions. Hence, like the idea of Europe, it seems to be defined by a dialectics between art and commerce, prestige and mainstream, continuously re-thinking its own meaning.

MEDIA was not the first pan-European policy in support of film to ever be introduced, but it was the first with a true political agenda. Such an agenda is not denied by the European Commission, as the latter adds clear cultural goals to the economic benefits of the programme. The positive discrimination in favour of low production capacity European countries enacted by MEDIA might not be enough to increase the distribution of their films, but the programme helps the circulation of European films within Europe more generally, offering support for up to 30% of distribution costs, thereby sponsoring a wide variety of titles from different nationalities, with different genres and different budgets.

Currently, the EU sees the role of cinema more as contributing to the creation of a "community" whose existence is underpinned by a sense of belonging. Policy officers at the European Commission refuse any involvement in the contents of the films supported by MEDIA; the focus of the programme on distribution is justified precisely by the necessity of the European peoples to know each other better. MEDIA's connection with the idea of Europe has less to do with objective parameters of how it can be defined and more with an emotion-based sense of binding people who share common values together. Avoiding key concepts, even general ones such as human rights (featured in the Declaration of 1973 and the failed constitution), the EU stresses instead the importance of emotions, from joy, love and sadness to passion.

Such values highlight both the will of the EU to remain attached to stereotypical views of European cinema (romantic, generally more sexually explicit, and characterised by sad endings) and a simultaneous wish to frame these in a universalist slant. But because universal values or feelings, especially love, have historically been seen as belonging to Europe, the EU's strategy ends up being questioned through its association with Eurocentrism. The idea of Europe, as the identity of contemporary European cinema, must then be found in a tension between openness and specificity.

As the EU deals with extensive institutional reforms set in motion by the Lisbon Treaty and a political crisis aggravated by the euro-zone debt and the internal divisions it is creating, communication with its citizens appears as a major challenge. In this context, the promotion of MEDIA has been increasingly directed at the larger public. The clips posted on EUtube and on the European Commission's website have allowed me to examine the EU's view of European cinema and to continue the analysis of the meaning of Europe. Here, the adjective European stands for "quality", for emotions, as well as for a need to connect with audiences – notably through cinephilia.

In addition to completing the first part of this thesis, about the analysis of the idea of Europe as understood by the EU, this chapter introduces the object of the second half: European cinema. A number of the films examined later on have been presented here as "MEDIA films" and I looked at their budgets, genres and countries of origin. The following chapters are instead focused on how they represent the idea of Europe.

Endnotes

[1] Philip Schlesinger, 'From cultural defence to political culture' in *Media, Culture & Society* 19 (1997), 378
[2] EAO, 'EU film production reached record high in 2008 as admissions to European films remained strong', http://www.obs.coe.int/about/oea/pr/mif2009_cinema.html Accessed online 13/01/10
[3] Nik Powell, 'Foreword', in *The State of European Cinema*, Angus Finney (London: Cassell, 1996), ix
[4] Helle Kannik Haastrup, 'Popular European Art Film: Challenging Narratives and Engaging Characters', in *European Film and Media Culture*, eds. Lennard Højbjerg and Henrik Søndergaard (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press and University of Copenhagen, 2006), 264
[5] Mary Wood, 'Cultural Space as Political Metaphor', 2000, http://www.mediasalles.it/crl_wood.htm Accessed online 01/10/08
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Cited in Anne Jäckel, *European Film Industries* (London: BFI, 2003), 32
[9] Luisa Rivi, *European cinema after 1989* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 53
[10] Dimitris Eleftheriotis, *Popular Cinemas of Europe* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 48
[11] William Fisher, 'Let them eat Europudding', *Sight and Sound* (1990), 224
[12] Randall Halle, 'German Film, Aufgehoben' in *New German Critique* 87 (2002), 33
[13] José Enrique Monterde, 'Un Panorama del Cine Europeo' in *Derivas del Cine Europeo Contemporáneo*, eds. Domènec Font and Carlos Losilla (Valencia: Institut Valencià de Cinematografia Ricardo Muñoz Suay, 2007), 114
[14] Ibid., 115
[15] 'Eurostar and the europudding', *Guardian*, May 2003, http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2003/may/08/features.xanbrooks Accessed online 31/07/09
[16] Halle, 2002, 28
[17] Jäckel, 2003, 60
[18] Producer Vibeke Windelov states that "without European co-productions, there would be no European auteurs", in Katja Hofmann, 'Cultural ID Check', *Variety* 401 (2005), A1
[19] Dimitris Eleftheriotis, 2001, 12
[20] See for instance Mark Betz, *Beyond the Subtitle* (Minneapolis; Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2009)
[21] Monterde, 2007, 114
[22] Viviane Reding, speech given at 'Conference on the Future of Cinema and the Audiovisual Sector within the framework of European Union Enlargement', Thessaloniki, 25-27 May 2003, in *From Cultural Diversity to a European Identity* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2003), 13
[23] For more on this see Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby, *"Film Europe" and "Film America": cinema, commerce and cultural exchange, 1920-1939* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999)
[24] Coopers and Lybrand, *The distribution game* (UK: Coopers and Lybrand, 1993)
[25] Patrice Vivancos, *Cinéma et l'Europe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 106. My translation, in French in the original: « S'il est une spécificité du cinéma européen, elle n'est pas d'un certain type de films, de héros ou un genre cinématographique précis, mais dans le nombre de festivals qu'il possède. »
[26] Ginette Vincendeau, *Encyclopedia of European Cinema* (London: Cassell, 1995), 141
[27] Cited in Erik Kirschbaum, 'Flying the Euro Film Flag' in *Variety* 408 (2007), A11
[28] See for instance Ginette Vincendeau, *Stars and Stardom in French Cinema* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000)
[29] See for instance Olof Hedling, 'Possibilities of stardom in European cinema culture', in *Stellar Encounters*, ed. Tytti Soila (Herts: John Libbey, 2009)
[30] Nezih Erdoğan, 'Star director as symptom', in *New Cinemas* 7:1 (2009), 27-38
[31] 'Do not get confused', http://www.coe.int/aboutcoe/index.asp?page=nepasconfondre&l=en Accessed online 07/01/10
[32] Richard Collins, *Broadcasting and audio-visual policy in the European single market* (London: Libbey, 1994), 3
[33] Miyase Christensen, 'Rethinking European Media Landscapes: *D'où venons nous? Que sommes-nous? Où allons-nous*?', in *Shifting Landscapes*, eds. Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdoğan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 115
[34] Commission of the European Communities, *The audio-visual media in the single European market* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1988), 46
[35] 'Conclusions of the Presidency – European Council', Rhodes, 2 and 3 December 1988 in *The*

European Community Policy in the Audiovisual Field – Legal and Political Texts (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1990), 7
[36] 'MEDIA – Overview', http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media/overview/index_en.htm Accessed online 29/12/09
[37] 'European Film Database of EFP related films', http://www.efp-online.com/en/films/index.php Accessed online 26/10/09
[38] 'Lumiere – Database on admissions of films released in Europe', http://lumiere.obs.coe.int/web/search/ Accessed online 26/10/09
[39] http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/media/films/
[40] António-Pedro Vasconcelos, *Report by the Think Tank on the Audiovisual Policy in the European Union* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1994), 12
[41] Cited in Jäckel, 2003, 14
[42] Martin Dale, *Europa, Europa* (Paris: Académie Carat and MEDIA Business School, 1992), 47
[43] See for instance Schlesinger, 1997, 386
[44] 'Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission'. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/communication/about/what_we_do/index_en.htm Accessed online 20/10/09
[45] The MEDIA short films can be accessed here: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/programme/overview/clips/index_en.htm
[46] Luísa Passerini, Jo Labanyi and Karen Diehl (eds), *Europe and Love in Cinema* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 10
[47] 'As Rapidinhas da Comissão Europeia', *Diário de Notícias*, 04/07/07, http://dn.sapo.pt/Inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=660555 Accessed online 15/12/09
[48] 'Sesso a volontà per il cinema europeo', *La Stampa*, 03/07/07, http://www.lastampa.it/redazione/cmsSezioni/societa/200707articoli/23299girata.asp Accessed online 15/12/09
[49] 'L'Unione europea sbarca su You Tube, ma è polemica per un filmato a luci rosse', *Il Sole 24 Ore*, 02/07/07, http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/Tecnologia%20e%20Business/2007/07/ue-youtube.shtml?uuid=9f9c3474-2888-11dc-98e1-00000e25108c&DocRulesView=Libero Accessed online 15/12/09
[50] 'Sexy clip lifts EU YouTube debut', *BBC News*, 03/07/07 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6263430.stm?lsm Accessed online 15/12/09
[51] 'It's red faces all round over EU's dirty movie', *Daily Mail*, 02/07/07, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-465509/Its-red-faces-round-EUs-dirty-movie.html Accessed online 15/12/09
[52] 'Steamy clip turns up the heat on EU', *Variety*, 06/07/07, http://www.variety.com/article/VR1117968165.html?categoryid=2526&cs=1 Accessed online 15/12/09
[53] 'On EU Tube (LOL!), Sex Sells (Duh!)', *The New York Times*, 11/07/07 http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/11/arts/television/11ridi.html?_r=2 Accessed online 15/12/09
[54] 'What is the EU's sex film really selling?', *Guardian*, 05/07/07 http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/filmblog/2007/jul/05/whatistheeussexfilmreallyselling Accessed online 15/12/09
[55] 'Ecco EUtube, i video online della Commissione Europea', *La Stampa*, 03/07/07 http://www.lastampa.it/_web/cmstp/tmplrubriche/tecnologia/grubrica.asp?ID_blog=30&ID_articolo=2688&ID_sezione=38&sezione=News Accessed online 15/12/09. My translation, in Italian in the original: "L'iniziativa nasce per spiegare meglio ai cittadini europei le politiche e le iniziative della Commissione, spiega la vicepresidente del settore comunicazione Margot Wallstrom. E per fare ciò nel 2007, impossibile non abbracciare le nuove tecnologie, soprattutto quelle preferite dagli utenti di Internet, come i video di YouTube".
[56] 'El 'erótico' y polémico estreno de EUTube', *El Mundo*, 03/07/07 http://www.elmundo.es/navegante/2007/07/03/tecnologia/1183473853.html Accessed online 15/12/09.
[57] 'Spot erotico della Ue per il cinema europeo', *Corriere della Sera*, 03/07/07 http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Esteri/2007/07_Luglio/02/Ue_spot_sexy.shtml Accessed online 15/12/09
[58] 'Ecco EUtube, i video online della Commissione Europea', *La Stampa*, 03/07/07
[59] 'Spot erotico della Ue per il cinema europeo', *Corriere della Sera*, 03/07/07
[60] 'Polémica en la Eurocámara por la promoción del cine europeo con un vídeo erótico', *ABC*, 04/07/07 http://www.abc.es/hemeroteca/historico-04-07-2007/abc/Espectaculos/polemica-en-la-

eurocamara-por-la-promocion-del-cine-europeo-con-un-video-erotico_1634067401688.html Accessed online 15/12/09

[61] 'Sesso a volontà per il cinema europeo', *La Stampa*, 03/07/07

[62] 'Sexy clip lifts EU YouTube debut', *BBC News*, 03/07/07

[63] Cited in 'Sexy clip lifts EU YouTube debut', *BBC News*, 03/07/07

[64] Cited in 'It's red faces all round over EU's dirty movie', *Daily Mail*, 02/07/07 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-465509/Its-red-faces-round-EUs-dirty-movie.html Accessed online 15/12/09

[65] 'EU promotional clip is softporn'.

[66] Cited in 'On EU Tube (LOL!), Sex Sells (Duh!)', *The New York Times*, 11/07/07

[67] 'Sesso a volontà per il cinema europeo', *La Stampa*, 03/07/07. My translation, in Italian in the original: "[...] 'il vero scandalo è la polemica su un lavoro che al Film Festival di Berlino ha avuto un'ottima accoglienza'. I nostri filmati, sottolinea, 'rispecchiano i valori su cui si costruisce l'Europa multiculturale: la gioia, la tristezza, l'amore e la diversità sono i sentimenti che esprimono l'identità più forte e apprezzata del nostro cinema. Assurdo mettere tutto in discussione'."

[68] 'What is the EU's sex film really selling?', *Guardian*, 05/07/07

3. HISTORY AND MEMORY IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN CINEMA

Chapter 1 demonstrated that there is a long-standing tradition of defining the idea of Europe in relation to history. While particular periods and figures are celebrated as Europe's heritage, the EU has reflected on the need for the peoples of Europe to share a common past. At the same time, Europe produces a large number of historical films. Starting with an examination of the EU's institutional support to cultural heritage, this chapter looks at historical films released through MEDIA schemes and the ways in which these relate to the idea of Europe. My analysis explores different periods represented and cinematic genres, as well as diverse modes of engaging with the past. The first section examines heritage films, literary adaptations and biopics, focusing on their festive tone and celebration of Europe's glorious past. Secondly, I offer a closer look at war films. In this section, I discuss the understanding of the First World War as a European civil war, as well as the permanence of the Second World War as a key topic in European cinema, examining the role of war heroes in a European memory of armed conflicts. Finally, turning to a discussion about the value of concepts such as memory and nostalgia, I analyse films that represent recent moments in Europe's history, focusing particularly on those that self-consciously re-write it.

3.1 Celebrating Europe's heritage

In 2005, George Steiner gave a conference at the Nexus Institute where he presented "a certain idea of Europe", highlighting, among its features, a strong reverence to the

past.[1] For Steiner, an example of this interest in history can be seen in the names of late artists, intellectuals and politicians given to streets and *piazzas* across Europe, in contrast with the functional denominations given to American urban locations (for instance, the "Fifth Avenue"). Steiner highlights the "Europeanness" of this interest in the past by opposing it to American culture, but the celebration of cultural heritage is not specifically European. Nevertheless, the degree to which European institutions, especially the EU, promote it, places heritage at the heart of discussions of the idea of Europe.

The protection of Europe's heritage is explicitly one of the main goals of EU cultural programmes. A long list of monuments and historical sites, museums and memorials have been created, restored or restructured through EU initiatives. In the audiovisual sector, incentives for collecting, cataloguing, preserving and restoring films have been a component of MEDIA since its early days. DG EAC's main policy, the "Culture Programme 2007-2013", has actively promoted cultural activities across Europe, with a particular focus on heritage. The launch in 2010 of the "European Heritage" label, created to single out heritage sites that represent and celebrate European integration, provides evidence of the increasing attention devoted to this sector. According to Commissioner Androulla Vassiliou, this label "will contribute to strengthening European citizens' sense of belonging to the EU and promote mutual understanding in Europe"[2]. The development of programmes for the protection of heritage thus reflects an institutional need to safeguard, maintain or even create a transnational cultural memory.

The definition of what constitutes a European heritage is a contentious one, not only because the past is so often tied to national culture, but also because, as noted by Raphael Samuel, heritage is seen by critics "as a 'project', if not a conspiracy or

plot then at the very least a strategy […]. It is a 'bid for hegemony', a way of using knowledge in the service of power."[3] The importance attributed to the past testifies to the centrality it plays in defining today's identities. But in addition to its presumed fabrication or inauthenticity, another feature of heritage has lead to further criticism. As Samuel goes on to suggest, "in a consumer-led society, in which everything has its price, and market values are unchallenged, [heritage] 'traffics' in history and 'commodifies' the past".[4] Hence, as suggested by Robert S. Peckham, museums become a "commercial enterprise, which sells the past to the visitor as entertainment"[5]. What is described here is the rise of a "heritage industry" which has simultaneously been explored (commercially) and contested (in political terms). This tension between a will to reclaim to the public sphere forgotten or newly framed heritages and a "theme park" representation of the past is also visible in contemporary European cinema.

In the introduction to the *Encyclopedia of European Cinema*, Ginette Vincendeau identified the two world wars (especially the Second World War) as well as European historical and mythical heroes (and anti-heroes) as the most common topics in European cinema[6]. Wendy Everett sees these as particularly important for an analysis of the idea of Europe since, as she argues, there is in European cinema "an almost obsessive need to explore and interrogate memory and the process of remembering, apparently convinced that therein may be found the key to present identity."[7] The predominance of historical themes thus shows European cinema's commitment to the examination of the idea of Europe in relation to its past. The next section looks at the historical films released with the support of MEDIA, introducing the main topics that are discussed later on.

MEDIA historical films

12:08 East of Bucharest	*Lady Chatterley*
4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days	*Life is Beautiful **
A Touch of Spice	*Merry Christmas*
Alatriste	*Molière*
Angel	*Mrs Henderson Presents*
*Bad Education **	*My Brother is an Only Child*
Becoming Jane	*Pan's Labyrinth*
Black Book	*Shooting Dogs*
Fateless	*Sophie Scholl*
*Girl with a Pearl Earring **	*Ted and Sylvia*
*Good Bye Lenin! **	*The Best of Youth **
Good Morning, Night	*The Chorus **
Goodbye Bafana	*The Counterfeiters*
I Served the King of England	*The Dreamers **
Il Divo	*The Dust of Time*
La Vie en rose	*The Pianist **
	Torremolinos 73

*Films included in the 2007 MEDIA "clips"

Table 3.1 Historical films supported by MEDIA

25 historical films were distributed through MEDIA's Selective Scheme in 2003 and between 2005 and 2008. The table above identifies a total of 33 films and it includes some of the films used by the European Commission in the 2007 MEDIA "clips". Only 4 of these are not set in the 20th century: *Girl with a Pearl Earring, Alatriste*, *Molière* and *Becoming Jane*. Of the 29 remaining titles, the majority is set in the second half of the 20th century, thus representing fairly recent events, including some taking place outside Europe, as is the case of *Goodbye Bafana* (on the time Nelson Mandela spent in prison on Robben Island in South Africa) and *Shooting Dogs* (about the 1994 Rwandan genocide). Belonging to different genres, these films are organised in this chapter in three thematic sections: European heritage cinema, war films and films dealing with Europe's recent history, particularly political developments.

Heritage cinema in Europe

Although, according to Vincendeau, heritage cinema "constitute[s] a 'genre' only in a loose sense", since the 1990s this particular form of costume drama has "become a meaningful critical term which has elicited important debates".[8] For Vincendeau, key features of the genre include, apart from a historical setting, high budgets, high production values, A-list directors, the presence of stars, polished lighting and camerawork, many changes of décor and extras, well-researched interior designs and classical or classical-inspired music.[9]

The "problem" with the heritage genre, as Vincendeau goes on to suggest, is that it has been seen as celebrating the past without investigating it – or to put it in Andrew Higson's terms, that it offers no "critical historical perspective".[10] Robert Rosenstone, conflating it with the costume drama, contrasts it with what he calls the "history film" in the following terms:

> The costume drama [...] uses the exotic locale of the past as no more than a setting for romance and adventure. A 'history film', by contrast, engages that discourse by posing and attempting to answer the kinds of questions that for a long time have surrounded a given topic.[11]

While critics of the heritage genre have disparaged its conservative aesthetics and ideology, my analysis takes it as a serious vehicle for complex historical representations, as well as the articulation of cultural ideas on Europe's past and present. Higson notes how "a more generous reading of these films might suggest that […] the heritage film creates an important space for playing out contemporary anxieties and fantasies of national identity, sexuality, class and power".[12] Likewise, for Richard Dyer, "the genre has provided a space for marginalised social groups, a

sense of putting such people back into history, for instance, women"[13]. The ambiguity of heritage cinema makes it particularly interesting for debates about European cinema, especially as this is defined through the prism of the "quality film".

Although heritage films are not exclusively produced in Europe, Dyer sees them as frequently "Eurocentric"[14]. For Belén Vidal, heritage films "both call forth and playfully betray a popular knowledge of the (European) past beyond the versions sanctioned by official history […]. These films are first and foremost symptomatic of the contemporary imagination, offering unfamiliar takes on familiar myths."[15] Centred on European topics and/or reproducing European historical narratives, heritage films are thus also useful for an understanding of the Europeanness of European cinema. Indeed, this can be further observed in their structure, since, as Dyer goes on to suggest, heritage films combine "conventional filmic narrative style with the pace and tone of European art cinema but without its symbolisms and personal directorial voices"[16]. In this sense, "often hugely popular in their country of origin, [but] sold as art cinema outside it", as Dyer notes[17], they are positioned between European and Hollywood cinema. For Vincendeau, "unlike *auteur* cinema, which opposes Hollywood in terms of *mise-en-scène* and subject matter, the French heritage film takes a two-pronged line of attack, adopting Hollywood style 'super-production' values while establishing its difference through historical subject matter and (not negligibly) language"[18]. The same could be said of other national cinemas in Europe – and indeed this chapter examines films from various European countries.

Many of the films presented in Table 3.1 could be examined in the terms laid out by these debates. The examples I focus on in the first part of this section are also literary adaptations: *Girl with a Pearl Earring* and *Lady Chatterley*. However, my

analysis is not focused on adaptation as a genre. Rather, it is concerned with these films' production contexts, the topics chosen, as well as their celebratory vision of the European past.

Bleak past, marvellous painting: the case of Girl with a Pearl Earring

Girl with a Pearl Earring, adapted from Tracy Chevalier's 1999 novel, tells the story of Griet (Scarlett Johansson). Forced to work as a servant in Master Vermeer's (Colin Firth) house, Griet becomes gradually interested in the work of the painter. At the same time, master and servant develop an ambiguous relationship, which will affect their personal and professional lives. The film (a UK, Luxembourg and USA co-production) is set in Delft, Holland, 1665 – as we are informed at the beginning through an inter-title.

Girl with a Pearl Earring's main topic – 17th century Dutch painting – is presented in contrast with domestic and urban life. Water, soap and boats in the canal are examples of items that clearly define the historical period represented, at the same time as, adding to the images of pig heads and other animals in the market, they construct an unpleasant and almost grotesque vision of life in the 17th century. However, while representations of the common spaces in the house and shots of the city add to a gloomy representation of this particular period, Vermeer's atelier, as well as his private world, which Griet later enters, are beautiful and serene. Thus, key scenes focus on the *camera obscura*, the colours and the paints, highlighted through carefully composed photography by Eduardo Serra, who won a European Film Award in 2004 for Best Cinematographer for this film.

While the sobriety of Johansson's performance has been praised by critics (she is the subject of the painting the narrative focuses on and therefore for the most part

of the film a still model), the problematic role of women in society seems to be left aside, used as a mere plot line imported from the novel (notably, a recent book, not a "classic", as my next example). Vermeer's wife (Essie Davis) recognises Griet is just "a fly in his web – we all are!", but the matter is not further explored by the narrative. In fact, the main topic pursued here is not Griet and Vermeer's relationship, but the painter's work. Although the historical period represented is portrayed as bleak and bizarre, the film proposes a celebration of art, which it commemorates through style and cinematography. Simultaneously, by being marketed not "just" as a romantic costume drama but as a film about painting, *Girl with a Pearl Earring* achieves an artistic status.

Vermeer's art is the item to be celebrated as part of Europe's past. Johansson's presence (as an American star) positions the film as international, while the painting guarantees the Europeanness of the story. In this sense, *Girl with a Pearl Earring* is in line with the development of heritage tourism in Europe and in the Netherlands in particular. A "Vermeer Tour" is available to those visiting Amsterdam, including a trip to The Hague, to see the famous paintings "A Girl with a Pearl Earring" and "View of Delft". Moreover, a "Vermeer Centre" opened in Delft in 2007, inviting visitors to step into the 17th century and explore the stories behind the painter's life and work. Through such initiatives, Delft becomes explicitly a historical town. Culture is seen as a commercial opportunity for its development, as the Vermeer Centre also plans to open an online shop selling Vermeer gifts. The presence of the painter in popular culture is further testified by the Nestlé yoghurt-based desert *La Laitière*, which uses in its packaging and advertising the image and the title of Vermeer's famous portrait (*The Kitchen Maid*, in English), on display in Amsterdam's Rijkmuseum.

Peckham argues the heritage industry is characterised by "the marketing of history for external consumption by foreign tourists or by a native population encouraged to consider its 'own' past as a foreign country that is at once reassuringly familiar and entertainingly exotic"[19]. European tourists on such trips, like European audiences watching *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, are likely to experience a simultaneous familiarity and distance to what is being portrayed. While the painting and this particular view of art would be known to a local, national, but also European public, the grotesque past visible in the film (for instance, the pig's heads at the market), contributes to the sense of exoticism described by Peckham.

Given the detail of the film's representation, this could also be seen as exemplifying Samuel's notion of "living history", a practice developed in the 1960s and since then increasingly used for pedagogical purposes.[20] In fact, *Girl with a Pearl Earring* also could be argued to create an active spectator who learns, or is given the opportunity to learn, about Europe's history. Not focused on the figure of Vermeer, but mostly on his work (his methods and his paintings), the film is similar to the new "Vermeer Centre" mentioned above, as it allows the spectator to be immersed in the painter's atmosphere, to learn about the history of the specific painting at the heart of the narrative and, ultimately, to admire it.

Whereas the painting is depicted as transcending time (something contemporary audiences can still appreciate and are still interested in), the representation of daily life in 17th century Delft clearly situates the film in the past. The appeal of *Girl with a Pearl Earring* thus also lies in its representation of a period that no longer is and therefore must be cherished, in the same way that preserving the past becomes a political obligation for institutions such as the EU. The notion of "the end of an era" is central to discussions of heritage cinema and it can also be seen in

my next example, *Lady Chatterley*.

Lady Chatterley: *nature and literature as heritage*

Tinted with nostalgia rather than decadence, the notion of a past in transition (in terms of the society represented) and of the emergence of the new (the main character's discoveries and experiences) is also explored in *Lady Chatterley*. The film is based on the second version of D.H. Lawrence's famous novel, posthumously published as *John Thomas and Lady Jane* (1972). It tells the story of Constance (Marina Hands), a rich woman whose husband Sir Clifford Chatterley (Hippolyte Girardot) has just returned a cripple from the First World War. Sent by Sir Clifford to give an order to the gamekeeper, Oliver Parkin (Jean-Louis Coullo'ch), Constance becomes fascinated by the latter's body and by nature, and eventually the two become lovers.

Lady Chatterley was nominated for 9 Césars, and won 5 of these, including Best Film and Best Actress. As an art film, most reviews and articles refer to its literary origin – much more so than the film analysed before, given the status of D.H. Lawrence, but also of his Lady Chatterley novels. Awarded a series of prizes for its adapted screenplay (including a César), of the films analysed in this section, *Lady Chatterley* is also the one closest to a literary text, both in terms of its content and structure. Although the film is not about literature, the importance of the written word is visible throughout, for instance in inter-titles and in the voice-over (spoken by the director, Pascale Ferran) that help to construct and move the narrative forward.

At the same time, however, *Lady Chatterley* is very much concerned with visual composition. In line with Dyer's argument about heritage films following the

pace and tone of European art cinema, most sequences are composed of long takes with a predominance of static camera shots. Throughout, the editing brings the film to a slow rhythm, where the sensorial is privileged to the detriment of dialogue, but most importantly, of action. The film's modern feel can be seen in shots of Constance's gaze, first observing the gamekeeper from a distance, later on watching her reflexion in the mirror as she gets undressed. Similarly, close-ups (of hands touching skin, eyes open wide, or lips breathing, for instance) are abundant in the second part of the film, after Constance and Parkin develop a relationship.

The film's preoccupation with beauty is visible in its first sequence, which includes magnificent shots of, supposedly, the English countryside (Fig. 3.1) – the film was, in fact, shot in France – as well as numerous details of trees, flowers and animals (Fig. 3.2). *Lady Chatterley* is a heritage film in which nature is dazzling and luxurious rather than interior décors or costumes (despite an obvious sense of glamour). The importance attributed to the countryside is all the more interesting as Samuel's study of the semantics of heritage highlights the early connection of the term with nature (as he describes, in particular, the development of the National Trust in the UK[21]), concluding that "the association of heritage and the arts […] is quite recent".[22] While the aforementioned "Vermeer Centre" is a clear example of this new branch of the heritage industry, in *Lady Chatterley* there is an interesting balance between the film's two "heritage sites": its setting (nature) and its artistic origin (literature).

Because of the subject of the film (although the third version of this novel was much more sexually explicit), the bodies of the characters are also clearly in evidence and are a crucial part of its visual composition. Claire Monk argues that beyond an "undoubtedly overt concern with sexuality and gender", contemporary

heritage films also "revel in the visual pleasures of the heritage, even as they seem to distance themselves"[23]. In *Lady Chatterley*, sex appears as something natural, as Constance and Parkin's bodies are framed in the same way as the trees and flowers.

Fig. 3.1 Beautiful countryside in *Lady Chatterley*

Fig. 3.2 Constance in touch with nature in *Lady Chatterley*

This focus on sex and on nature has led some to dismiss the film as apolitical. For one critic writing in *Positif*, the film illustrates a recent trend within contemporary French cinema that sees "good filmmakers" adapting literary classics

without noticing their political implications.[24] A similar remark figures in Catherine Wheatley's review of the film for *Sight and Sound*, in which she argues that in *Lady Chatterley*, "gone is the poignant interweaving of class and gender struggles, replaced by clichéd if visually arresting footage of miners and a clumsy debate between Lord and Lady Chatterley as to the purpose of the class system."[25] However, although *Lady Chatterley* is centred on the physical and emotional discoveries of Constance and Parkin, the backdrop of the inter-war years is not ignored. In fact, the war is the topic of the first dialogue of the film, as Sir Clifford and a friend discuss the horrors of the conflict, telling the story of a soldier who ran "like a headless chicken". The use of the post-war period as a backdrop also contributes to the film's sense of a society in transition.

Indeed, this is supported by footage of miners and a debate about the class system. At the same time, the wheelchair that Sir Clifford stubbornly drives through the woods reflects the idea of progress, in the same way that Constance's trip to France with her sister adds to the notion that life is changing. Composed of Super 8 footage, this sequence includes the voice-over of the narrator, who describes the actions and feelings of the characters, including Connie's mood. While on the road, she experiences true happiness; but as the Super 8 footage ends, she is described as feeling a malaise she cannot control, a (nostalgic) longing for her home and Parkin. In the final scene, as the two lovers realise their relationship has no future, the film refuses to indulge in nostalgia, finishing abruptly, before their dialogue is over. A sense of change thus opens and closes *Lady Chatterley*; the film's narrative is framed between a societal (the war) and a personal (Connie's) development.

Whereas *Girl with a Pearl Earring* stresses the value of painting as one of Europe's cultural attractions, through the association between nature and Connie's

malaise, *Lady Chatterley* highlights the importance of the countryside, promoting it as a visitor's point of interest. The film's narrative (set in the past) does not seem to constitute a metaphor for today. Rather, in conjunction with the previous film, *Lady Chatterley* should be perceived as mediating the (European) past, making it comprehensible (although not as a "lesson" for the future, simply as added knowledge) and, especially, visually and aesthetically attractive for contemporary audiences.

The source of *Lady Chatterley* is also celebrated (in the film's style and in the number of awards it has received for it screenplay) as, in addition to nature and the visual arts, literature becomes a central element of Europe's cultural heritage. Visits to writers's homes have become common in today's European cities. At the same time, literature has been given special attention in the EU's latest cultural programme, for instance through the "Euroman" initiative, which aims to promote the circulation of Europe's lesser-known literary traditions. Literature is not only the source of many heritage films, but also a common theme in historical cinema. This is the case for *Molière* and *Becoming Jane*, films that narrate the lives of key European writers. The following sections look at these two films and at *La Vie en rose*, proposing a study of the European biopic.

Telling literary lives: Molière *and* Becoming Jane

Scholarly interest in biographical films has increased in recent years. Biopics constitute a particular sub-section of the historical film, raising issues of authenticity, narrative and stardom. As Marcia Landy puts it, in biopics, "the events are ultimately narrated in linear fashion, involving the youth, maturity and old age of the protagonist, [which] serves to present a life in organic and 'natural' fashion"[26]. Most

biopics adopt a classical narrative structure, which contributes to the presentation of their protagonists as "normal" people. However, the events they portray focus on these characters' outstanding capacities and/or achievements. Thus, replicating discourses on stardom, biopics are often based on a dichotomy between the "ordinary" and the "extraordinary". In this section, I am interested in exploring the extent to which biopics of European artists can function as museums, which not only celebrate particular historical figures, but also construct a narrative about their lives and, most importantly, their work. The extent to which such narratives are presented in didactical terms, and therefore attached to the idea of knowledge, is also questioned, as I examine the role these films' play in the presentation of Europe's past to the continent's citizens.

Similarly to *Ted and Sylvia* (about the poet Sylvia Plath), another film released with the support of MEDIA, the examples I focus on in this section, *Molière* and *Becoming Jane*, are about the lives of writers. Like *Shakespeare in Love* (the slogan on the British DVD of *Molière* reads: "Shakespeare in Love… French style"), these films use well-known passages and episodes from an author's work to construct a fictional narrative about their rise and confirmation as key literary figures. Nominated for 4 Césars in categories such as Best Costume and Best Production Design, *Molière* was seen by 1 million spectators in France. The film narrates a particular period of the French playwright's life and, despite being a comedy, actually begins as a tragedy, with someone dying. This episode triggers a long flashback, where, for the most part of the film, we see how Molière (Romain Duris) learned how to combine comedy and tragedy and became an inspired dramatist. This dichotomy between humour and seriousness is the main theme of the film, which also reflects on Molière's oeuvre.

While the flashback in *Molière* provides us with insights into the author's growth, the "becoming" in the title of the Jane Austen inspired film suggests a similar narrative device. *Becoming Jane* is centred on the romance between young Jane Austen (Anne Hathaway) and Tom Lefroy (James McAvoy). After a series of encounters where the two tease and provoke each other, they fall in love. But Jane and Tom's lack of money and a marriage proposal by the rich Mr. Wisley (Laurence Fox) forces them to reconsider the value of their feelings.

The presence of an American star (Hathaway) in this British production no doubt contributed to the success of *Becoming Jane* in the USA, where it grossed over 18 million dollars. Seen as a popular film within the European market, *Becoming Jane* was curiously awarded a People's Choice Award in 2008 as the Favourite Independent Movie of that year. As expressed on the DVD cover, the film's plot line, "between sense and sensibility and pride and prejudice was a life worth writing about" (with the absence of capitals reinforcing the intended pun) clearly highlights its topic. Indeed, as one critic has noted, "for the first hour you might be watching an Austen adaptation rather than a biopic".[27] "The heart" and the defence of "irony" are central topics in *Becoming Jane* – topics that are also present in the character's work and in her life, in the film and in Austen's novels (which the spectator is assumed to know). By placing romance at the centre of its narrative, *Becoming Jane* is thus self-reflexive. The film is also inter-textual in its relation to contemporary cinema; the presence of Jane Austen in European cinema cannot be ignored, as a significant number of her novels have been adapted – including in the last 20 years or so – with commercial and critical success.[28]

In both films, the presentation of the main character is based on a notion of extraordinariness, as the two writers distinguish themselves from the societies where

they live in. As George F. Custen puts it,

> [a] central conflict of the biopic, then, is the hero's antagonistic relations with members of a given community. One might even go so far as to postulate that in this conflict, the hero is attempting to reformulate the boundaries of a given community.[29]

The first sequence of *Molière* portrays the main character as an "author", who, after realising he is unable to write tragedies, confesses: "I have things to say, I want to be taken seriously". The originality of his work lies in the successful combination of "serious" themes and a playful tone, which challenge the literary and theatrical conventions of his time. In *Becoming Jane*, the protagonist is someone who is different: she is up (writing and playing the piano) while everyone is asleep; she walks behind the other members of the family as they go to church; she is feisty, volunteering to play cricket with the men.

As in *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, we see, in *Molière* and *Becoming Jane*, the main characters in the process of artistic production, being able to learn about what is extraordinary about these figures. As such, these function also as living history memorials, in the vein of the houses of artists that can today be visited in a number of European cities. As the films show the (internal and external) difficulties these two writers overcome, they can be seen as statues or monuments, publicly celebrating these artists' names and commemorating their achievements. Their extraordinariness turns these characters into distinguished Europeans that serve as future reference for younger generations – and as such the films are about returning to the past to find inspiration for the present, about celebrating history so its glories are prolonged.

In this sense, they also work as museums, as they are not static, but rather construct a narrative that highlights specific values that should be followed. These include determination and creativity, as well as the capacity to innovate and overcome prejudices about the role of artists – women artists in particular in the case of *Becoming Jane*, in which Austen's place in history is claimed to come at a cost (in the film's final scene, her professional success as a writer is balanced by her personal "failure" in not getting married – a common trope in the representation of women with careers). A similar tale of rise and fall is evident in *La Môme/La Vie en rose*.

Performance beyond the nation: the European biopic La Vie en rose

La Vie en rose is a French, British and Czech co-production. The film tells the life of Edith Piaf (Marion Cotillard), from her poverty-stricken childhood to her first breakthrough as a singer and then huge fame, and finally to her death. More than 5 million spectators watched the film in France; it was a major box-office hit, grossing over 10 million dollars in the USA, where it was shown theatrically for almost a year. While it won several prizes in Europe (6 Césars, though none of the 4 European Film Awards it was nominated for), the film's popularity in the USA can be partly explained by the number of awards received by the leading actress, including a Golden Globe and an Oscar – as well as, arguably, its overt American-oriented narrative content.

Cotillard's performance and her mimesis of Piaf were the main aspects noted in the critical reception of the film, but its narrative structure has also been under scrutiny. *La Vie en rose* has been criticised for omitting crucial incidents in Piaf's life, in particular her ambiguous behaviour in occupied France during the Second World War.[30] With a non-linear episodic structure, the film makes abundant use of

montage. It also follows many of the conventions of the biopic. Hence, it starts *in media res*, with a performance by Piaf in February 1959 in New York.

The stage is a central element of *La Vie en rose*, allowing for a particular kind of double framing. In the scene of Marcel's death, for instance, Edith goes directly from her bedroom to the stage, from crying to singing, from private to public. Reflecting on the dichotomy between fiction and reality, this scene also highlights the film's focus on spectacle, which is particularly achieved through visual rather than audio devices. Music (diegetic or not) is always present during the childhood sequence, as it is obviously a crucial part of Piaf's life. However, *La Vie en rose* uses mostly excerpts, rather than complete songs, which not only stresses its accent on visual spectacle, but also suggests the film caters for a particular audience. Whereas in *Molière* the national culture is highlighted by a reference to the French language as "*la langue de Molière"*, in *La Vie en rose*, the film's "Frenchness" is negotiated for international viewers. Indeed, it has been accused of being made "for tourists" – which might also explain the absence of any references to Piaf's cooperation with the Resistance in Nazi occupied France.

The film's transnationality can be identified at different levels. The presence of Gérard Depardieu, for instance, a truly European, even global star (as discussed by Vincendeau[31]), suggests a move towards universality. Its international title, *La Vie en rose*, relies on the popularity of Piaf's songs rather than on the knowledge of her persona – since one of her nicknames, *La Môme*, is instead used in the original French title. Likewise, *La Vie en rose* is notably connected to the American market: the first words Piaf sings are in English and we see her travelling to different destinations around the world, including New York (where the film begins) and California. Finally, I have alluded to its popularity in the USA – a fact that, for

Vanessa Schwartz, is related to Piaf's similarities to Judy Garland.[32]

The stress on American culture (both in terms of the film's plot and in terms of its style) might explain the film's success in the USA, as noted. However, it does not detract from its European character (in terms of its main story, its origin and the language spoken). Edith Piaf remains a European singer, her life story is still a French narrative; the film's structure might use American codes, but it tells a French and European tale. In fact, to some extent, Frenchness stands for Europeanness in *La Vie en rose*. Just as Depardieu, who has featured in numerous large costume productions such as *1492*: *Conquest of Paradise*, has become a global European star, after starring in *La Vie en rose,* Cotillard was chosen as the face of the luxury brand Dior. The first promotional film she starred in for Dior, also directed by Dahan, was tellingly a *film noir*, part of a marketing campaign that draws on the association of France and Europe more generally (especially from an American point of view) with glamour, elegance and sophistication. An analysis of *La Vie en rose* and its distribution and reception context thus offers a vivid example of the classical process by which European culture is defined in contrast to Hollywood, as well as of the way in which the European and US film markets are interconnected. *La Vie en rose* is a film supported by MEDIA where the idea of Europe is mostly negotiated for an external audience. But the film also expresses ideas of Europe for viewers within the continent – something which is particularly visible when *La Vie en rose* is placed in relation to other European films, such as the biopics I have been examining in this chapter.

The central protagonists of *Molière*, *Becoming Jane* and *La Vie en rose* relate to notions of extraordinariness and are thus presented as heroes in their community. Molière invents something new by combining tragedy and comedy; Austen proves a

woman can live "by her pen" and encourages female independence; Piaf is placed in a fairy tale about overcoming a traumatic childhood and reaching fame, even if he film privileges the darker side of public recognition. However, the celebrity narrative in *La Vie en rose*, unsurprisingly for the biopic of an entertainer, is more focused on spectacle than on individual ideals. Unlike in the films discussed in the previous section, *La Vie en rose* is not so much about knowledge, but about feelings, with the stress on spectacle highlighting the superficial tone and narrative of the film – superficiality not intended here in a derogatory way, but in the sense that *La Vie en rose* seems to be constructed on impressions.

Compared to *Molière* and *Becoming Jane*, *La Vie en rose* offers a more explicit discourse on stardom, partly because, in comparison to Molière or Jane Austen, Edith Piaf is a more recent famous figure, about whom there is a public and visual memory. Performance (especially in terms of the images created, and not so much the songs played, as argued above) is a central element of *La Vie en rose*, which justifies the number of awards received by the film's protagonist. Whereas the genius and the dedication of European artists are celebrated in *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, *Molière* and *Becoming Jane* – and to a certain extent, in *Lady Chatterley* as well, even though indirectly – in *La Vie en rose,* talent also becomes something to be celebrated as European. Hence, this particular film constitutes an example of how mainstream culture is celebrated as an important part of Europe's heritage.

Painting, literature, popular theatre and music are all sources for celebrating Europe's past. Just as history is in itself prestige, as argued in Chapter 1, giving Europe a sense of tradition, through high production values and cultural topics, the films examined in this section achieve an artistic status, being positioned as quality films. At the same time, by bringing the figures represented closer to audiences, they

transform the artistic practices they celebrate into tourist attractions. Their commercial character is highlighted, thus positioning Europe as a visitor attraction and appealing to audiences within and beyond Europe. To a certain extent, *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, *Molière*, *Becoming Jane* and *La Vie en rose* operate similar functions to the statues, monuments and memorials actively supported by the EU. They illustrate the paradox that is the heritage industry by being simultaneously about quality and about visitors – a duality that will re-emerge in Chapter 4 in relation to contemporary films set in European capitals such as Paris, London and Barcelona.

However, all over Europe other memorials have been built, representing a much more dramatic past. Europe's "other" history, especially defined by crime and suffering, is the focus of the next section, which examines films that represent both the First and the Second World Wars.

3.2 Remembering the war

Representing armed conflicts, the films analysed in this section are in stark contrast with the examples examined before. However, as will be suggested, war films may still contribute to a positive reading of European heritage, celebrating a common history.

The two colossal military conflicts that took place in the 20th century were denominated "world" wars, but affected Europe in particular, both in political and geographical terms. As they conduct a historiography of the First World War, Jay Winter and Antoine Prost have noted how, since the early 1990s after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, "the link between war and nation […] was severed, and henceforth the Great War appeared as a European civil

war."[33] The First World War was not only triggered in Europe, but also fought between European countries. Such an outlook on this conflict is crucial for a historical understanding of Europe and for what is at stake in its definition today, as well as in its representation.

At the same time as the First World War maintains its place within European history and culture, the trauma of the Second World War and the Holocaust is still persistent. The majority of films concerned with this topic are set in actual war settings, such as battlefields, destroyed cities and concentration camps. These include *Life is beautiful*, *The Pianist*, *Die Fälscher/The Counterfeiters* and *Sorstalansag/Fateless*, films which narrate stories of Second World War survivors. In this section, my focus is on three films: one taking place in the trenches and representing the First World War, a biopic of a hero from the German Hitler resistance movement The White Rose and a high-budget action film depicting Nazi occupied Holland during the Second World War.

United in diversity: Merry Christmas *and a Happy New Europe*[34]

My first example, *Merry Christmas*, narrates a relatively unknown episode in the history of the First World War, when French, German and Scottish troops called a short ceasefire on Christmas Eve in 1914, leaving their trenches to sing, eat and celebrate Mass with their enemies. Winter and Prost have noted the persistence of the First World War as a historical topic as it recedes over the horizon of living memory. For them, a new history of the First World War has, since the 1990s, shifted from a military focus to social and cultural perspectives, becoming increasingly concerned with the stories of men at war. It has become a history of the intimate, the most moving experiences within a national community, where, as Winter and Prost

suggest, "memory and identity are inseparable."[35]

Nominated for an Oscar, a Golden Globe and a BAFTA in the category of Best Foreign Film, *Merry Christmas* failed to receive any awards in national territory (it was nominated for 6 Césars, including Best Film and Best Supporting Actor, Dany Boon). It was also barely noted at the European Film Academy, being only nominated for an Audience Award. Yet at the same time in the USA, the film grossed over 1 million dollars; its popular status is confirmed by almost 2 million spectators in France.

Merry Christmas is a film project with a very strong European accent from its production set-up. It is a French, German, British, Belgian and Romanian co-production, filmed in three different countries with actors from many different backgrounds. It was written and directed by the French filmmaker Christian Carion, who claims the film stems from his childhood memories growing up in the north of France. However, spoken in three languages (French, German and English), the film seeks to adopt a European perspective, rather than a specifically French outlook. The memory it evokes is transnational, and so is the identity its narrative constructs. Despite not being spoken in English or using dubbing, some critics saw it as "a bit of a Euro-pudding"[36], a familiar disparagement of European co-productions, as discussed in Chapter 2. The film fits perfectly within the EU's "united in diversity" motto. Carion's interest in the events portrayed in *Merry Christmas* stems from the belief that they had been overlooked by history (although such occurences are taught in British schools) – but what place do they occupy, what gap do they fill in a European narrative of the war?

For Thomas Elsaesser, European film provides its spectators with a historical imagery, as a "*dispositif* that constitutes, through an appeal to memory and

identification, a special form of address, at once highly individual and capable of fostering a sense of belonging".[37] *Merry Christmas*, with a clearly defined group of main characters at its centre, explores the tension between individual and universal identification. In *Merry Christmas* there is no single protagonist – a feature Pierre Sorlin identifies in other First World War films[38]. Thus, while the film invests a significant amount of time in personal stories (the German Captain who is married to a French woman; the French Captain who has a newborn son; the Scottish soldier who tries to conceal the death of his brother), it is also concerned with a much more general humanitarian message. *Merry Christmas* establishes new patterns for the heroism of those involved, as it speaks of humanism and compassion rather than bravery and nationalism. The film also accentuates the differences between the high ranking officials and the soldiers. It rectifies history by glorifying the latter (whom the film is dedicated to) rather than the captains – who, conversely, are depicted as cold and brutal figures.

Merry Christmas's originality lies in its three-fold approach to the representation of the First World War, which echoes Winter and Prost's reading of this conflict as a European civil war. The film starts by working as a triptych, as there are always three languages, three camera angles and three points of view. In the first half of the film, there is a predominance of medium shots and close-ups, with the only wide shots being subjective (for instance, the Scottish stretcher-bearer looking at the battlefield). This structure, also present during the opening sequence, when Scottish, German and French children read poems about the war, is maintained up until the toast between the three Generals, on Christmas Eve, to a Merry Christmas, *Frohe Weihnachten*, and *Joyeux Noël*.

The film to some extent indulges in national clichés such as French champagne

and Scottish bagpipes, and signs on the trenches, which read "Rosbif Land" or "Froggy Land"; yet the insistence on different languages and on three independent nations does not single them out individually so much as it suggests a move towards universality. Even before the soldiers discover what they have in common (a desire for peace, pictures of and stories to tell about their wives and families, music, sport, or religion), the recognition of each other's "Frenchness", "Germanness" or "Scottishness" is what allows them to communicate with each other, as they identify in the "other" familiar cultural traits.

In this sense, *Merry Christmas* illustrates Luisa Rivi's point about the importance of the "national" in international co-productions. Claiming it has become fashionable to think about Europe in postnational terms, Rivi argues "it is precisely the persistence of the nation-state [...] that will provide a unique opportunity to shape and sustain such a supranational enterprise".[39] In *Merry Christmas*, communication is based on stereotypical representations of the national, but once the ceasefire is declared, the narrative is much more concerned with the similarities between the various countries. The cultural clichés used by the film do not lock these characters in their national identities, but allow them to cross cultures, thus aiming at universality. Their national characters are used for recognition (within the narrative, as well as for potential international audiences), but are then abandoned in the name of universality.

In *Merry Christmas*, the three nations are fused through music, sport and religion (all activities that transcend linguistic and cultural barriers), as burying bodies or playing football become common actions. In these sequences, there is a predominance of wide shots, which include French, German and Scottish characters. But after two days of common activities, the soldiers return to their trenches and the

officers are punished for high treason. The narrative and visual shift reverses. The unity of these three nations (and potentially, of Europe) might take place through a universal language and universal actions, but it does not last forever.

The insistence on the nonsensical nature of war, the underlying appeal for peace and the suggestion that all men are alike, have been read as the film's contemporary messages. In this sense, it could be argued that *Merry Christmas* is in line with the official discourse of the EU, which, already in 1973 in its Declaration on European Identity, defined its core values as democracy, freedom and respect for human rights, among others. Carion was, as he claimed in an interview, trying to do the work of a historian[40], but the film was generally received as a metaphor for today's political situation in Europe.

A number of historians have seen the First World War as the first moment in 20th century history that raised wide-ranging questions about the idea of Europe. For Menno Spiering and Michael Wintle, the period is strikingly comparable to the 1990s, when, as they argue, "it is indeed remarkable how so many of the same issues to do with Europe [...] were also under consideration".[41] What links the 1920s with the late 1990s and early 2000s, as I argued in Chapter 1, is a sense of Europe in crisis, in political, economic and cultural terms. But while *Merry Christmas* establishes a link between these two phases of European integration, the film meanwhile reverses the understanding of the war.

By replacing nationalism with humanism, *Merry Christmas* opens up a possibility for a new European history of the war, which is centred on the soldiers' desire for peace, rather than on military and diplomatic values; indeed, the film criticises high ranking officers for interrupting the "peace process" offered within the narrative, a literal European unification. In this sense, the film could be seen as

filling a gap in European history by legitimising the European integration process, not in its top-down approach, but as a desire from common people, here represented by the soldiers – a process widely challenged in the year of the film's release (2005) after the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty.

At the same time, certain scenes hint at the trans-historical message of the film. When the Scottish stretcher-bearer is told he will be sent back to his Parish, the sermon for the new soldiers coming to the front is based on a clear order: "you must kill the Germans, so that it won't have to be done again". This comment clearly alludes to the Second World War, as does the final sequence, when the *Kronprinz* reprimands the German army, as they sit in a dark train carriage that is ominously reminiscent of Holocaust films.

If, as Eric Hobsbawm has suggested, the First World War marks the beginning of the end of Eurocentrism[42], *Merry Christmas* is rightly placed at the historical root of Europe's crisis. However, Europe's decline was probably never as accentuated as during the other international conflict that followed. Although *Merry Christmas* tries to recover a positive aspect of the First World War, this was, as we have seen, a major period of crisis for Europe and European culture. And the questioning of the idea of Europe became even more severe in subsequent years. With this sense of continuity in mind, in the following sections, I look at two films set during the Second World War: *Sophie Scholl* and *Black Book*.

Sophie Scholl: *the hero biopic*

Sophie Scholl depicts the last days of the eponymous heroine, a young female member of the White Rose Resistance group in Nazi Germany. Arrested for distributing flyers with messages against Hitler and the war, Sophie Scholl was given

a death sentence in a rushed and unfair trial. While it follows some of the conventions of the biopic analysed in the previous section, the film is here examined as a particular kind of biopic: a hero film. Hence its main character is someone who not only dares to challenge the conventions of her society, but is also willing to risk her life in the name of a better future. While a significant part of *Sophie Scholl* delineates the main character as someone beyond the norm, her actions and the values she represents are not merely, as in *Molière* and *Becoming Jane*, extraordinary in the sense of being gifted, but are also tied to the notion of heroic sacrifice. The character of Sophie thus follows a tradition in the representation of great historical figures, normally "Great Men", as embodied for instance by Colin Firth in his portrait of George VI in *The King's Speech*.

The script of *Sophie Scholl* was written after the transcripts of the questioning of the prisoner, deemed lost, were found in archives in Eastern Germany. The film begins with an inter-title, which informs the viewer that it "is based on historical facts, as yet unpublished transcripts and new interviews with witnesses". Jacques Le Goff has noted how the 20th century has criticised both "the notion of historical fact (which is not a given object, because it is constructed by the historian)" and "the notion of a document". But as he goes on to suggest, "the range of documents has been broadened"[43]. The "factual" origin of *Sophie Scholl* is all the more interesting as notions of historical veracity as well as authenticity of documents are increasingly dismissed. But its character as a historical film "based on real facts" gives it credibility with critics and simultaneously contributes to popular interest.

Sophie Scholl was screened at the Berlin Film Festival, where it won a Silver Bear for Best Director and Best Actress, as well as the Prize of the Ecumenical Jury – an award created by Christian film professionals. Watched by 1 million spectators

in Germany, the film was nominated for an Oscar as Best Foreign Language Film in 2005. Its popular character can be inferred from multiple Audience Awards for Best Director and Best Actress, for instance at the European Film Awards and at the 2005 German Film Awards Ceremony, where it was also named, by the public, German Film of the Year.

The first scene of the film shows us a close-up of Sophie (Julia Jentsch) and her friend dancing and laughing to a song playing on the radio. Suddenly, the music stops; as they leave the building, the warm colours and lighting of their house is replaced by the grey, under-illuminated and deserted streets of Munich in the Winter of 1943. In the soundtrack, the jazz tune is replaced with more suspenseful music. By opposing the first minutes of the joyful song with the rushed and quiet exit from the house, this first sequence helps to establish one of the main themes of the film: the dual side of Sophie as "just" a girl and as someone "different", a strong and decisive individual. Throughout the film, this opposition is frequently explored. When printing flyers with anti-war messages, Sophie is especially brave, quickly offering to help. In the subsequent sequence, however, back to the house, she returns to a more traditionally "feminine" role, making tea for her brother. Similarly, Sophie's confidence when answering questions during the first interrogation is contrasted with a close-up of her nervous hands under the table. During the second questioning, she asks to go to the bathroom and cries in front of the mirror; but just before leaving, she removes her hairclip and adopts a strong posture. The figure of the "Great Man" is here complicated because of Sophie's gender, but her extraordinary features sustain her presentation as a "Great Woman".

Sophie's extraordinariness is particularly highlighted through the strength of her allies and her enemies. Sophie's religious faith (a feature common to many of the

members of the White Rose movement) is a fundamental element of her characterisation as a hero, and she often prays to God for help. Conversely, the Nazi apparatus appears at its strongest in the court scenes. Custen has argued that in biopics:

> A trial often states the issues in balder terms than they could be in another setting; it creates the drama of clearly opposed sides; it allows heroes to address the community with impassioned pleas for whatever it is they hold dear to their hearts.[44]

In this film, Sophie is tried by a brutal judge from Berlin, who, along with his entourage, has been criticised by a *Cahiers du Cinéma* critic as "Carnival Nazis".[45] It is against this oral and visual excess that the courage of the main character is highlighted, in a shot-reverse-shot sequence of close-ups of Sophie and the judge.

Marc Rothemund, director of *Sophie Scholl*, stated he wanted to confront young people with Sophie's bravery, exploring the notion of injustice. The German director has argued vehemently that, despite representing a historical event, he was interested in a contemporary understanding of such concepts (bravery and injustice), insisting "viewers shouldn't feel they are sitting in a history class [in my film]"[46]. In fact, as in *Merry Christmas*, elements of trans-historicity can be identified in this film – for instance, in the court scene, when Sophie claims that in future it will be the Nazi officials who will be judged (a future that was, as the spectator knows, to happen). But as an article in *Screen International* highlights, "young cinema-goers have been the focus of the film's promotional campaign which addressed the issue of moral courage and the question of how today's generation would react in such a situation."[47] After its premiere, the film was screened in a large number of schools in Germany and the director went on a national tour, participating in Q&A sessions that

underline *Sophie Scholl*'s pedagogic slant.

Sophie Scholl can also be seen to work within dominant trends in the historiography of the Second World War. Peckham's study of heritage suggests "attitudes to history and memory are changing within the context of a new 'moral politics', where the emphasis is on testimony, trauma and restitution."[48] As he goes on to suggest, "the unknown soldier dies so the nation can live on. Here, loss is re-inscribed with a positive meaning as 'sacrifice'."[49] The idea of personal sacrifice is similarly central to *Sophie Scholl*, as the main character suffers for her elder parents, and, in an attempt to spare the lives of her friends, tries at all costs to take the blame for the accusations thrown at her. Sophie sacrifices her life in the name of higher values that are not limited to the nation, but let us start by considering this as a German film.

In *A Nation of Victims?* Helmut Schmitz comments, "The topic of German wartime suffering is omnipresent in contemporary Germany."[50] Because, as he goes on to suggest, the Third Reich was the

> last moment of shared history between the two partial German states […], the Holocaust memorial in Berlin, planned throughout the 1990s and finally opened in 2005, puts the memory of Nazi crimes at the heart of memory culture of unified Germany.[51]

The contemporary interest in the topic of German suffering is confirmed by a number of films on this theme, including *Der Untergang/Downfall*, analysed in Schmitz's volume.

Occupying a central place in Germany's culture, this is, however, a very specific aspect of the memory of the Nazi period. Schmitz argues for an opposition

between an institutionalised public memory centred on Nazi crimes and a private and personal memory that has been underpinned by notions of suffering, hardship and heroism. For him, not only is there a return to the memory of Nazi Germany, but also private memory seems to substitute or complement the memory of the perpetration of Nazi crimes. As he notes, "this renewed interest in family legacies coincides with a significant shift both in historiographical and popular discourse from a history of 'hard' facts to 'story', human interest and emotionalisation"[52] – in addition to a more general discourse of pro-Germany rehabilitation. Even if, as the director claims, the film is not specifically about the Second World War but about the wider notion of injustice, *Sophie Scholl* is an interesting example of a film simultaneously based on hard facts and focused on human emotion.

There is, in addition to its German character, an important European dimension to *Sophie Scholl*. In a conference on "The Europeanness of European Cinema", Thomas Elsaesser listed the Second World War and the Holocaust in particular as one of the traumas that constitute the self-understanding narrative of Europe and European cinema[53]. Thus, despite *Sophie Scholl*'s story being told in German and set in a German context, it belongs to a wider set of chronicles of the struggle against fascist regimes that can be found in many other European films – films such as the Portuguese *Capitães de Abril/Captains of April*, the Spanish *Las 13 Rosas/13 Roses* and *El laberinto del fauno/Pan's Labyrinth*, the French *L'Armée du crime/Army of Crime* or the British co-production *Land and Freedom*.

In the film Sophie speaks of a "new international Europe" and bases her argument on universal beliefs such as human rights and freedom. By focusing on these values, we can also identify in *Sophie Scholl* a move from a national to a universal focus, as happened in *Merry Christmas*. The director uses a national story

and a national figure but speaks of timeless values that underline the film's international, and in particular European, scope. Conflict becomes the ideal backdrop against which to analyse the humane character of heroes and historical figures, as emotions are, as in the MEDIA "clips" analysed in the previous chapter, what guarantees the simultaneous Europeanness and universality of the stories portrayed.

Historical revisionism: war heroes and anti-heroes in Black Book

Black Book, a Dutch film, is another crucial example of how the history of the Second World War is being transformed in contemporary European cinema. The film tells the story of Rachel Stein/Ellis de Vries (Carice van Houten), a Jewish singer who joins the Resistance after seeing her family killed by SS officials. The script, co-written by Gerard Soeteman and Paul Verhoeven (who also directed the film), was developed for over two decades and stems from historical sources, as well as from both men's memories of the war. *Black Book* articulates its director's personal memory (like *Merry Christmas*), but it also uses memory as a narrative device, as, in the first sequence, the main character remembers her experiences of the war.

The relationship between history and memory has been the object of a substantial number of studies. According to Pierre Nora, "memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. […] Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past."[54] For Nora, because of its personal nature, memory keeps the facts that suit it; whereas history, as an intellectual and secular production, calls for analysis and criticism. However, even if subjective, for Elsaesser, memory "has gained in value as a subject of public interest and interpretation", in contrast to history, which "has become the very signifier of the inauthentic, merely designating

what is left when the site of memory has been vacated"[55]. Such ideas of historical analysis and criticism underpin the narrative of *Black Book*, a film that reclaims for a Dutch and European collective memory events rarely explored by history.

Although not set in the battlefield and mostly shot in a city, *Black Book* uses a remarkable number of action sequences. This focus on action (with the first big explosion taking place within the first 7 minutes of the film) has been related to Paul Verhoeven's career in the USA. The most expensive Dutch film at the time of its release (with an estimated budget of 12 million euros), *Black Book* was nominated for a number of awards in Europe but none in the USA, where it nevertheless grossed 4 million dollars. For Vincendeau, this is the typical "Euro-American film", where "Hollywood style production values meet European personnel and topic".[56]

The film's visual spectacle follows the conventions of the heritage genre, using lavish visual and musical period details – particularly visible in the scenes taking place inside the SS headquarters. The sequence of the Führer's birthday is an example of the highly constructed scenes that compose *Black Book* – in terms of its timing, which perfectly matches the music, of the complex camera movements, including long overhead shots, as well as the large number of extras present. While the virtuosity of Verhoeven has been praised in this and other similar sequences, for James Naremore, the director's use of music and his handling of action are "so entertaining that some viewers might not notice the film's underlying seriousness."[57]

Naremore's point echoes the traditional opposition between spectacle and seriousness that characterises debates around European heritage cinema, as if the presence of one invalidated the exploration of the other. The idea that *Black Book* might, for better or worse, work as a historical document, has also been addressed by Verhoeven, who dismisses the film's educational role. As he claimed in an interview

in *Sight and Sound*:

> […] I feel it's a great story – and terrible too. On the other hand, I did feel some obligation to bring in young audiences and that it was necessary to use some device – a thriller or detective element – to keep them there with the 'lesson' and all the period stuff.[58]

Whereas *Sophie Scholl*, particularly catered for younger audiences, speaks of the timeless notion of injustice, *Black Book* is chiefly concerned with the historical period it represents. Although the message of the film has been read as utterly up-to-date (connections to the Iraq war and to terrorism have been made by the director himself[59]), *Black Book*'s most striking and indeed commented upon message is related to its view of anti-Nazi Resistance. For one critic, for instance, *Black Book* is about a "dizzyingly complex world [in which] Nazis can be handsome and decent, and the Resistance's drab warriors corrupt"[60]. Such a contentious argument underpins the film's plot and, as the director has claimed: "I don't believe in this separation – the Nazis are all villains and the Dutch all heroes. The whole story is revisionism. So I had to revise the revisionism and tell people what the reality was."[61]

While Verhoeven's attitude was seen as challenging and part of his provocative *enfant terrible* persona, this must not be taken as the only reason for *Black Book*'s revisionism. Rab Bennett has examined the evolution of the collective memory of the Resistance in Europe. In post-war years, the general assumption was that everyone had been part of it, and that whereas resisters were "right and romantic", collaborators were "wrong and repulsive"[62]. As he puts it:

> Although the myth of widespread Resistance was eventually eroded in the 1960s and 1970s by films like *The Sorrow and the Pity*, what was not challenged was the moral supremacy of the Resistance fighting the 'good war' against the evil enemy.[63]

For Bennett, in order to go beyond a blind glorification of Anti-Nazi Resistance and shed some clarity on this issue, "we need to distinguish much more clearly between the principle of Resistance and the practice of Resistance".[64]

It is precisely this distinction that *Black Book* seems to overlook. As Bennett notes, "moral doubts about the consequences of Resistance were raised at the time by resisters themselves."[65] However, in the film, only the character of Theo (Johnny de Mol) seems to question what takes place, confessing: "I killed someone… I'm just as bad as the Nazis". In this sense, Vincendeau has criticised the film for going too far, claiming: "*Black Book* ends up not so much in shades of grey but rather blackening the Resistance completely."[66] The multiple twists (which show the transformation of "good guys" into "bad guys") certainly belittle the Resistance, but the fact that some of its members help the central female character Ellis get revenge towards the end of the film (some "good guys" were actually fighting for the "right" side all along) might just save the movement.

By questioning the value and morality of the Resistance, *Black Book* potentially undermines the chances of Europe to leave behind the Second World War and the Holocaust as dark passages of its shared history. While an appraisal of memory and criticism of history validate a revisionist version of past events, the film seems to destroy any positive view of the Resistance without any counter-message of hope or possible political change. In this respect is belongs to a growing band of European films adopting such negative or at least ambiguous views of the resistance

(for instance Jacques Audiard's *Un héros très discret/A Self-Made Hero* and Robert Guédiguian's *Army of Crime* mentioned above). From a contemporary perspective, *Black Book'*s view of Europe thus emerges as extremely negative. The war becomes not only a central element of Europe's past, but also of its future (even outside its geographical territory, as exemplified by the kibbutz seen in the final shot of the film). Ultimately, the questioning of the heroic paradigm (ultimately, there are no heroes in *Black Book*) means not a democratisation of past and present glory, but a problematic view of Europe's capacity to deal with armed conflicts. Arguably this questioning also echoes a more general decline in political grand narratives in Europe during the period in which these films were made, following the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Merry Christmas, Sophie Scholl and *Black Book* simultaneously adopt classical narrative structures, ending on moralist tones, and revisit for public memory events that history disregarded or tried to hide, offering new readings of the past. The three films analysed in this section can be seen as filmic contributions to the new history of the First and the Second World Wars. *Merry Christmas*'s focus on cultural representations of the war, *Sophie Scholl*'s theme of trauma and sacrifice and *Black Book*'s re-reading of the Resistance are in line with recent historiographies of the conflict. Focused on ordinary soldiers, on personal stories, but at the same time on emotions and universal values, the message of *Merry Christmas*, especially when one considers the First World War as a European civil war, is utterly positive. A similar move can be identified in *Sophie Scholl*, where the shift from nation to humanism is evident, as Sophie sacrifices herself not only for Germany but also for universal beliefs. Such beliefs can furthermore be seen to contribute to the pedagogic tone of the film, in a similar vein to *Molière* and *Becoming Jane* (not least because it is also

a biopic), given that the protagonist is seen as a role model for future generations. Conversely, *Black Book* twists the positions and values of those involved in the Resistance, alerting us to the fact that even heroes can be questionable.

Nevertheless the three films have something in common, beyond their war topics. Whereas the films analysed in the previous section worked towards a promotion of Europe, celebrating (and, to a certain extent, commodifying, for touristic consumption) its artistic glories, *Merry Christmas, Sophie Scholl* and *Black Book* are concerned with deconstructing dominant versions of Europe's history. The three films are evidence of a renewed interest in the past and its connection to European culture, but illustrate the need Europe has felt in recent years to deny or define itself against part of its history, and are therefore an instance where the past becomes "other", as suggested in Chapter 1.

Other contemporary European historical films apply this notion of "deconstruction" not just to history but also to cinema itself, bringing doubt and self-reflexivity to the fore. The next section examines films that particularly follow this path, as they propose innovative histories, embedding new memories in their fictional plots.

3.3 Revolution, politics and social change in post-war Europe

This section looks at more recent European history. Across Europe, filmmakers have represented political and social changes central to their countries' histories. Released through MEDIA distribution schemes, films such as *The Dreamers* (which describes the events of May 1968 in Paris through the eyes of a young American) and *4 luni, 3 saptamâni si 2 zile/4 Months, 3 Weeks, 2 Days* (which looks at Romania under the Ceausescu regime) are part of this trend. *Good Morning, Night, La meglio*

gioventù/The Best of Youth, Mio fratello è figlio unico/My Brother is an Only Child and *Il Divo* are other examples of contemporary films concerned with Europe's, and more specifically, Italy's relatively recent political situation. *The Dreamers* focuses on cultural memory and cinephilia in particular, as does the MEDIA supported *Torremolinos 73*. In this section I examine three films which self-consciously re-write European history, allowing for an investigation about the role of media, especially television, in the representation of the past.

What if…? Dreams and realism in Good Morning, Night

Good Morning, Night narrates the kidnapping of Aldo Moro (Roberto Herlitzka) by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary group *Brigate Rosse* (the Red Brigades) in 1978. Aldo Moro was an Italian politician who served as Italy's Prime Minister between 1963-1968 and 1974-1976. At the time of his kidnapping, he was the leader of Democrazia Cristiana, the Christian Democratic Party, and he was conducting negotiations with the Communist Party for democratic and parliamentary stability in the country.

The film, directed by Marco Bellocchio, originates from a commission by RAI (the national Italian television). It commemorates the 25th anniversary of *Il caso Moro* (the "Moro affair"), a determinant event in Italy's recent history and the subject of many other films. Loosely based on the book *Il prigionero* (1988), the memoir of Anna Laura Braghetti, one of the *brigadisti*, the film is centred on the figure of Chiara (Maya Sansa), the only woman in the group of four people responsible for the kidnapping and assassination of Moro.

Premiered at the 60th Venice Film Festival, *Good Morning, Night* was well received by Italian and international critics. In her account of European film

festivals, Marijke de Valck describes the "seriousness" of this particular screening ("not one mobile phone rang", says a critic in *Le Monde*, cited in her book[67]). The press coverage, in Italy and abroad, also notes the long-standing ovation Marco Bellocchio received at the festival and the excitement around the film[68]. However, it failed to win the Golden Lion (awarded instead to the Russian *Vozvrashchenie/The Return*), becoming, as de Valck goes on to suggest, the official "loser" of the *Mostra*. De Valck attributes this loss to the film's political content and to the influence of the Berlusconi government at the time[69], but *Good Morning, Night* was also criticised by the Left (for presenting the Red Brigades as a naïve movement, detached from reality) and the Right (for whom it adopts a humane position on "terrorists") alike. The polemics generated at the Venice festival were not so much about the film's politics; rather, they focused on its national character, with cast and crew regretting the opportunity to give an award to an Italian film in Italy's most important film festival.[70]

Released on 163 screens across Italy, *Good Morning, Night* was seen by 600.000 spectators, becoming the third most watched film in the country in the week of its premiere. Conversely, although exhibited in more than 20 countries around the world (but mostly in film festivals), the film was not particularly successful with international audiences. *Good Morning, Night* received the FIPRESCI prize in the 2003 edition of the European Film Awards, but as De Valck notes, "the film remained mostly a national hit that was sold with moderate success on the European continent [and] failed to make it in the United States, where the film's sympathetical portrayal of terrorists might have been too controversial."[71]

While Italian cinema's political engagement dates back to at least the neorealist movement, politics has also been a central theme for many films produced in the 21st

century. In 2010, the May issue of *Sight and Sound* was especially dedicated to Italian Cinema, arguing new filmmakers are fighting the tendency of "cinematic nostalgia, endemic corruption and the deadening hand of Silvio Berlusconi [which] have prevented Italy's real story"[72]. Across Europe, political cinema has resurfaced in recent years (Martin O'Shaughnessy, for instance, discusses the return of committed filmmaking in France since 1995 in *The New Face of Political Cinema*[73]). The film's limited international distribution may also be explained by the lack of contextual information. In *Good Morning, Night*, politics are not explicit, and the narration is subverted by art cinema conventions; the film could appeal to international audiences on a stylistic level – which accounts for its presence in such a large number of film festivals – but it remains ultimately abstract for spectators unfamiliar with the political events depicted.

Good Morning, Night begins with a tracking shot in a dark space. The empty property we see is where most of the action of the film will take place, the flat rented by members of the Red Brigades to hide Aldo Moro. On the day of Moro's kidnapping, Chiara keeps busy with domestic tasks. Alone at home, she hears a helicopter and immediately turns on the TV, zapping through channels until she finds a special news bulletin. The Red Brigades operation was successful; Aldo Moro has been kidnapped. From this moment, the TV is permanently on.

The presence of the TV becomes a sign of the "realistic" historical construction the film aims to conduct, since, as Alan O'Leary puts it, the Moro affair was "the first example of round-the-clock news reporting in the Italian context".[74] More generally, the centrality of television in the representation of historical events is an international phenomenon that has been spreading across Europe and the world since the 1960s, with implications for the way collective memory is built. As Thomas

Elsaesser has noted:

> 'Do you remember the day Kennedy was shot?' really means 'Do you remember the day you watched Kennedy being shot all day on television?'. No longer is storytelling the culture's meaning-making response; an activity closer to therapeutic practice has taken over, with acts of re-telling, re-membering, and repeating all pointing in the direction of obsession, fantasy, trauma.[75]

The Moro affair became a national trauma, but despite the whole affair having become a screen memory, the kidnapping itself was, of course, not broadcast. The absence of these images (with the exception of footage of the bodies of Moro's body-guards, assassinated during the kidnapping) was compensated in the TV coverage by maps, reconstitutions, reactions and comments. The obsessive and traumatic quality (to use Elsaesser's words) of this event was thus paradoxically built not visually, but through narration and imagination.

Adopting a similar strategy to that of the national TV coverage, Bellocchio's film mixes archive images of the days that followed Moro's kidnapping with fictional representations. The film also makes an original use of music, editing together popular tunes such as Pink Floyd's *Shine on you crazy diamond* and classical pieces, from an excerpt of Verdi's *Aida* to Schubert's *Momento Musicale Op. 94 no.3*. The images produced by Bellocchio recreate what was absent from the news, at the same time as the presence of music adds new meaning to both the fictional and the archive images.

Self-reflexivity is an important element of *Good Morning, Night*, as the title is matched, within the film, by the title of a screenplay written by Enzo (Paolo Briguglia), one of Chiara's co-workers. Discussing Enzo's screenplay in a later scene, Chiara says: "imagination has never saved anyone", to which Enzo replies:

"imagination is real!". Chiara dismisses as illogical Enzo's plans to include in his screenplay a new character, a woman who wants to save Moro, to what he replies: "why are you always looking for a rational explanation?". Similar remarks could be addressed at the film, since many of its sub-plots are left unanswered or unexplained.

In fact, *Good Morning, Night* is characterised by the conjunction of realism and fantasy. While the inclusion of archival images stresses the realism of the film, imagination is a key narrative device. Inside the flat, Chiara is constantly looking through the hole in the door to Moro's hiding compartment, claiming: "I must see him to reassure myself it's not just a dream". Images from her "actual" dreams are also part of the film – notably, footage of Stalin's Russia and a scene from Rossellini's *Paisà*. This is all the more significant as Chiara is not only the single *brigadisti* who dreams (or whose dreams are part of the film's visual composition), but also the only one who has a life outside the flat (for instance, we see her at work and, in a scene towards the end, Ernesto complains he is not allowed to see his girlfriend, and eventually runs out to meet her).

As the film progresses, the narrative highlights the strength of fantasy and Chiara's hesitations become gradually central. Conscious of the nature of televised historical events, Moro with the pleads the *brigadisti* to save his life, arguing: "when TV shows my dead body, people won't be able to understand; they'll hate you!". Acting accordingly, as her *compagni* decide the assassination must take place that evening, Chiara pours sleeping pills into the dinner plates and warns the prisoner not to eat. Her imagination takes over the "realistic" depiction of the events, and we see how, before starting to eat, the *brigadisti* make the sign of the cross. This brief shot is presented in slow motion and once more Pink Floyd's music underlines its dream-like essence. After this, Chiara unlocks the door of Moro's hiding place, allowing

him to leave the house while everyone else is asleep.

By filming the (imaginary) release of Moro, in *Good Morning, Night* Bellocchio opens up a debate on a new historical possibility – where would Italy be today if Moro had not been killed? *Good Morning, Night* offers diverse points of view, but refuses to explore the politics of the events portrayed. But while the film does not suggest what would have happened, things would certainly have been different. Bellocchio's film reflects on the nature of the Moro affair as a televised event, highlighting its mediated quality (also one of the key themes in his ensuing film *Vincere*, with TV having particular implications in the Italian case, given Berlusconi's ownership of the media company Mediaset).

Figs. 3.3 and 3.4 Fictional and "real" history in *Good Morning, Night*

However, the scene that follows reminds us that this was not what really happened. After showing Moro walking on the streets of Rome (Fig. 3.3), the film cuts to the three *brigadisti* who take him out of the flat, blindfolded (Fig. 3.4). Then, over archive footage of the real Aldo Moro's state funeral, we read: "Aldo Moro was assassinated the 9th May 1978". The "true" story is told through Bellocchio's words, but the images are not his, while those by the director tell a different tale. The text explains to the viewer how the entire Italian political class was at the ceremony, despite the absence of Moro's body, but in the very last shot of the film we return to a close-up of Moro walking free. Just like in Chiara's fantasies, we hear Schubert. The images of the state funeral annul those of Moro's escape. But as soon as the text is finished, Bellocchio returns to the "fantasy". Running parallel to the "true" narrative, the world of fiction opens up new possibilities for Italian history.

Other recent European films have approached the issue of terrorism, including, in the Spanish context, *Tiro en la Cabeza/Bullet in the Head* and *GAL*, about the Basque separatist group ETA; *Hunger*, on the IRA, in Ireland; *The Baader Meinhof Complex*, about the left-wing German terrorist group of the 1970s; and Olivier Assayas's *Carlos*, on the Venezuelan Marxist terrorist "Carlos the Jackal". Such a wide number of titles testify to the rising trend in contemporary European cinema of depicting and exploring not only the recent past and terrorism in particular, but also the role of the state in many nations across the continent, positioning politics as a key cinematic theme for today's Europe.

Good Morning, Night also shares with other contemporary European films its focus on the individual (something I have addressed in my analysis of *Merry Christmas* and *Sophie Scholl* in the previous section), as well as the prominence given to television in the understanding and representation of Europe's history –

issues that will be further explored in this chapter. Indeed, while Marco Bellocchio is a key European *auteur* and *Good Morning, Night* is a prime example of a European art film, paused and aiming for reflection, a re-writing of history can also be seen in recent popular films – namely my next case study, the German comedy *Good Bye Lenin!*.

Alternative history, fantasy and nostalgia in Good Bye Lenin!

Good Bye Lenin! concerns a young man, Alex (Daniel Brühl), who tries to conceal from his sick mother Christiane (Katrin Sass) that the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) are open and that the communist government has fallen. Despite being a comedy told against a national background, the film also operates on a transnational level, including in terms of content. Its main event, the fall of the Berlin Wall, can be read in the general context of *perestroika* and its consequences observed throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

Released in over 30 countries around the world, *Good Bye Lenin!* was seen by 6 million spectators in Germany. Internationally, as Randal Halle notes, "its marketing made the film the first German hit in France in 20 years"[76], where more than 1 million spectators watched it. *Good Bye Lenin!* was also successful with critics, having won a significant number of awards at home and across Europe. Adding to 8 German Film Awards, the film was nominated one of the Best Foreign Films in the 2004 edition of the BAFTAs in the UK and won awards in similar categories in France and Spain. It was particularly successful at the 2004 European Film Awards ceremony, receiving an Audience Award, as well as Best Film, Best Actor and Best Screenplay prizes.

Good Bye Lenin! is one of the films policy officers at the European

Commission cited as an example of a successful MEDIA film during the interviews I conducted in Brussels; it also has a prominent presence in the 2007 MEDIA "clips", as discussed in Chapter 2. While its topic is central to the formation of Europe, *Good Bye Lenin!* can be seen as being in line with the official discourse of the EU not only in terms of its plot, but also of its production context. Indeed, it is a primary example of the "quality film" discussed in Chapter 2, combining elements of both popular and artistic cinematic traditions.

Good Bye Lenin! was produced by the German company X-Filme Creative Pool – a company that, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was formed to make popular "smart" films, characterised both by their quality and their mainstream appeal. The fact that the film was co-produced by the Franco-German cultural television channel Arte brings it closer to art cinema conventions (the film is centred around the feelings and thoughts of one character and its visual style is often privileged to the detriment of the narrative), but with the presence of Eastern German star Katrin Sass[77] and having launched Daniel Brühl as a European "Shooting Star", *Good Bye Lenin!* was primarily marketed as a popular comedy.

As Halle puts it, "the reviewers of *Good Bye Lenin!* repeatedly reassured potential spectators that, although it might be hard to believe, this German film really was funny!"[78]. The stress on genre rather than on language and nationality contributed to *Good Bye Lenin!* being promoted not so much as a "German" film, but more as a "universal" comedy – this is, for instance, the strategy adopted by the Pathé!/20th Century Fox DVD edition released in the UK. Hence, another crucial aspect of the film is the transference from a national "East-German" to a transnational "East-European" sphere. Although not a co-production, *Good Bye Lenin!* contradicts Rivi's idea about the predominance of the national in

contemporary European films, as the GDR in the film becomes a metonym for all of Eastern Europe. Whereas in *Merry Christmas* the nation is (stereotypically) highlighted to then become universal, here the nation is effaced on multiple levels to allow for a wider identification. "East Germany" disappears historically, as well as in the film's narrative.

One way in which the film steers away from the national is by giving prominence to the family strand of its narrative. *Good Bye Lenin!* was praised in *Variety* as "the moving story of a son's unconditional love for his mother"[79]. The interconnections between family and national histories are also explored in some of the Italian films previously mentioned, namely *The Best of Youth* (which narrates the history of the Carati family between 1966 and 2003) and *My Brother is an Only Child* (focused on two brothers in 1960s Italy).

But paradoxically, in *Good Bye Lenin!* the family also works as a metaphor for and is thus a mirror of what was happening with the nation. In one of the key sequences of the film, afraid his mother will not recover from the shock of learning about the dramatic changes Germany has undergone, Alex decides to bring her home. He forbids his sister Ariane (Maria Simon) to mention her new job at Burger King and replaces the new (Westernised) furniture with the old one. It is through this cover-up that *Good Bye Lenin!*'s plot develops, but while at first Alex's plan of absolute reclusion seems to be working, outside the room this world has kept spinning. Although there is, in *Good Bye Lenin!*, a clear parallel history, this is only plausible in the restricted environment of the mother's room. Hence, it is precisely the family story that allows the film to reflect on the way (national) history is constructed and memories are created.

In a subsequent sequence, Christiane asks Alex to set the TV in her room. This

presents a problem for the film's (and Alex's) narrative. However, it does not come as a surprise, since TV had been constantly present in *Good Bye Lenin!* – from old footage of Alex and Ariane as children during the credits sequence to the actual first shot of the film (a TV showing the cosmonaut Sigmund Jähn). TV also literally contributes to German unification, bringing Eastern and Western workers together, and showing how, through their efforts (installing new aerials), the two nations gather to watch West Germany's performance in the 1990 FIFA World Cup.

Fig. 3.5 Alex filming outside the Coca-Cola factory in *Good Bye Lenin!*

The request for a TV amplifies the space of Christiane's bedroom, but what is seen by Alex as an inconvenience, is soon demonstrated by his new work partner Denis (Florian Lukas) to also be the solution. Relying on his friend's editing skills, as well as on his collection of old GDR TV programmes, Alex initiates a funny, albeit only at times believable, re-writing of German history. For instance, during Christiane's birthday party, a banner of Coca-Cola is placed on a building in front of her window. Looking for a convincing (in his mother's eyes) explanation for this, Alex and Denis prepare a "journalistic" piece, which informs the citizens of the GDR that Coca-Cola is in fact an Eastern recipe stolen by Western capitalists. Filming

outside the Coca-Cola factory, as they wait for the perfect light for their shot (Fig. 3.5), Alex concludes: "I realised that truth was a rather dubious concept".

While Alex's truism is not particularly surprising in a film that operates a self-conscious re-writing of history, it can also be related to the constant presence of television. Discussing what he calls a "new memory", Andrew Hoskins has noted how media, and TV in particular, fabricate the past. As he argues, "fundamental to the process of both individual and collective memories is that they are increasingly mediated. In this way our understanding of the past is 'manufactured' rather than remembered."[80] In this film, this is particularly relevant since, as Hoskins goes on to suggest: "one of the advantages of 'capturing' such memories […] is that we can *manipulate* them."[81] In *Good Bye Lenin!*, history is manipulated because it was mediated; it is only through video (Alex and Denis' new recordings) and TV (especially Denis' archive) that this particular German past can be re-created.

Whereas humor is used as a means to oppose Eastern and Western cultures – Alex's first visit to the West, for instance, leads him to an adult video shop where images of a woman spreading whipped cream on her breasts are being shown – in the first half of the film, the representation of the West is mostly positive (Ariane finds a job, Denis solves Alex's problems). However, the film also narrates Alex's disappointment with the new Germany and its politics of openness. Realising that the process for German reunification is evolving too quickly, Alex's idea of a comforting past is transferred from the realm of family to the realm of the nation.

For Roumiana Deltcheva, in a series of films set in Eastern Europe, including *Good Bye Lenin!*:

> The real driving force of this common nostalgia is the memory that the old system guaranteed cheap rents, a job, medical care, and a low crime rate. […]

> While most former East Europeans would not really want to return to those days, they can certainly empathise with a fleeting, affectionate remembrance of times past.[82]

Indeed Alex also rejects this new life-style. Whereas his first trip to the West showed his delight in the video shop, after his mother is released from the hospital, Alex's view of Western customs is utterly ironic, when not dismissive. He despises Ariane and Rainer's (Alexander Beyer) belly dancing as a shallow interest for the "Orient", whereas Coca-Cola trucks driving through the city and covering, in the frame, the traditional change of guard, are, for Alex, a "relentless victory of capitalism". The film's main humorous sequences thus rely not only on the East/West divide, but also on a past (East)/present (West) divide. Alex deliberately brings the past into the present, because he wishes it was more like before. It is by overlapping both time frames (and their significant spatial and political implications) that the film becomes nostalgic.

At the same time, however, one of the problems raised by *Good Bye Lenin!* has to do with the extent to which such passionate feelings for the nation as it was "in the olden days" are taken too far. The film is underpinned by a sense of *Ostalgie*, defined by Nora Fitzgerald as "a phenomenon of memory, a desire to collect and obsess on things that vanished following the reunification of Germany".[83] In some of the funniest sequences of the film, Alex looks obsessively for these objects – for instance, in trash bins and at the flea market. At the same time, they function as a referent for audiences, who can historically situate key representational elements. Jars of pickles, packets of coffee, clothes, songs and even language (vividly caricaturised in Christiane's letters to the communist party leaders) are, in *Good Bye Lenin!*, agents of nostalgia.

Richard S. Esbenshade is one of many critics highlighting the negative aspect of the reification of such objects, arguing they represent "the total commodification of memory", where "'East-nostalgia' now has 'hard-West' currency value."[84] Esbenshade's criticism likens these objects to the artistic practices represented in the heritage films analysed at the beginning of the chapter and denotes a rejection of what is perceived as a disrespectful use of the past. Before elaborating on this point, it is important to note that the quote above also highlights Europe's internal divisions; as argued in Chapter 1, Eastern Europe has often been seen as the "other" within. Italy and the memory of terrorism do not become, in *Good Morning, Night*, synonymous with the "West", perhaps because Western Europe is seen as "default" Europe. However, the GDR in *Good Bye Lenin!* is equated to the "East", being presented as a lighter, comical version, formatted to appeal to audiences throughout (Western) Europe.

Svetlana Boym has discussed the negative connotation of the term "nostalgia", seen as a disease (albeit curable) in the 17th century. As she goes on to argue, nostalgia is generally dismissed because it is tied to a romanticised vision of the past and to fabricated memories, because it is about longing for something that never was[85]. Similarly, Alex's belief in GDR values, if only opportunistic and momentary, is immediately dismissed by his sister and Rainer, as well as by Alex's Russian girlfriend Lara (Chulpan Khamatova). For Pam Cook, "modern memory films have not simply exploited nostalgia; in many cases, they have engaged with the process, exploring its limits and questioning traditional notions of history and representation"[86]. *Good Bye Lenin!* also analyses the use of nostalgia, particularly through its narrative, which evolves from a questioning of the GDR (Alex participates in a demonstration against the regime, and it is after witnessing her son

being arrested that Christiane collapses) to a feverish passion for the ex-GDR and then back to an interrogation of Eastern customs and values. While at first Alex thrives in the possibility of returning to this recent past, soon he sees only the impossibility of this longing. In *Good Bye Lenin!*, *Ostalgie* functions as an emotional project (Alex revives it for his mother) and an aesthetic one (it becomes a "pretty" memory, crucial to the film's style), but a project that seems condemned, and is in fact soon abandoned.

If the use of archival images contributes to the historical realism of *Good Bye Lenin!*, as in *Good Morning, Night*, fantasy is also a crucial element of the reflection on the way the past is constructed. For Matthias Uecker, there is, in historical films, "a degree of reality and credibility that only individual characters can supply."[87] Other films listed in this chapter are based on personal memories, using particular historical periods as backgrounds to individual stories, including *Politiki Kouzina/A Touch of Spice, Bad Education, Obsluhoval Jsem Anglického Krále/I Served the King of England* and *Les Choristes/The Chorus*. However, in the two films analysed in this section, the "credibility" of the main characters is, to a certain extent, questioned. Alex in *Good Bye Lenin!*, like Chiara in *Good Morning, Night*, are the characters of fantasy, those who bring the narrative forward precisely by constantly opposing what is "real" (i.e. what the other characters and potentially the audience experience) to what is "fabricated" (Chiara's dreams, Alex's alternative present).

These two films express a concern with defining what is true and what is real, allowing for an examination of issues such as fantasy, authenticity and manipulation. The opposition between history (seen as the official telling of the past by institutions) and memory (hinting at the personal views of individuals) thus emerges very clearly. An exploration of the way in which the individual, the family and the nation

experience historical events also occurs in the final case study analysed in this chapter, *12:08 East of Bucharest*.

Where were you when…? Romanian historical memory live on TV

Shot in Romania in 2006, *12:08 East of Bucharest* was directed by Corneliu Porumboiu. Unsuccessful in securing public funding for another, bigger, project, Porumboiu set up the production house 42 Km Film and decided to make "a small film among friends"[88]. What started as a minor and very personal project was soon launched to international attention, as the film won the Golden Camera and the Europa Cinemas Label awards at the Cannes Film Festival.

12:08 East of Bucharest revolves around three main characters. These are presented in a 40-minute initial sequence, which crosscuts between scenes with each of them. Virgil Jderescu (Teo Corban) is a TV-presenter who is organising a show to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the 1989 revolution, which saw the end of the communist regime in Romania. For a debate on whether there was or not a revolution in their small town (the original title, *A fost sau n-a fost*, literally translates as "was there or wasn't there?"), he invites Manescu (Ion Sapdaru), an alcoholic history teacher. As his other guest turns him down at the last minute, Jderescu convinces Piscoci (Mircea Andreescu), a retired old man who used to dress as Santa Claus for school and family Christmas celebrations, to also participate in the debate. After Manescu declares live there was a revolution, since he and his colleagues (conveniently dead or emigrated) were in the town's main square that morning, the programme proceeds with viewers calling in to deny his story. Accusations of Manescu's tendency to lie and drink bring the show to an embarrassing conclusion, sealed by Piscoci's melancholic remark that "one makes whatever revolution one

can, each in their own way".

While perceptions of Romania have shifted with the country's accession to the EU in 2007, by then its cinema had already started being noticed by critics. Porumboiu's presence at the 2006 Cannes Film Festival followed the success of *Moartea domnului Lazarescu/The Death or Mr. Lazarescu* (winner of Un Certain Regard award in Cannes in 2005). Together with the subsequent *4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days* (Golden Palm at Cannes in 2007), these have been seen as the key titles of the so-called "Romanian New Wave".[89] Praised by critics internationally, Romanian filmmakers have denied the existence of such a cinematic movement, as well as any kind of labelling that relates them to their national cinema[90] – although it should be said that such denials are the norm, including in the case of the celebrated French New Wave.

Nonetheless, these three films share some common features. As Nick Roddick suggests, these include "a meticulous attention to detail delivered through very long takes and an often static camera that simply records what's in front of it"[91]. Long takes and a static camera compose the first third of *12:08 East of Bucharest*, when the main characters are introduced. Similar medium long shots are used to show Manescu in the bar, at school and at the Chinese shop; Virgil in his kitchen and then in the TV studio; as well as Piscoci in his living room. Camera work is also very important in the debate sequence. Irony and a sense of uneasiness are highlighted through constant "filming mistakes" (there are sudden zooms and brusque camera movements, people are often out of the frame and some shots are out of focus), picked up live by Virgil, who, towards the end of the show, orders: "a close-up would be nice now".

The feature mentioned by Roddick is not, however, achieved through different

shot lengths, but through dialogue. Hence, at the outset of the film, Manescu is immediately presented as a drunk since his first line, over the phone, is: "have you called me to ask if I'm hungover?". Likewise, Virgil's wife repeatedly asks him for money, which he refuses; in a later scene, he talks about a similar sum with his lover, implying he has given it to her. Finally, it is through one of Piscoci's scenes that the film is historically situated, as the radio programme he is listening to announces it is the revolution's anniversary.

While for Virgil the revolution was a crucial event (in his opening speech, he justifies its importance by claiming: "there is no present without past and no future without the present; the clearer the past, the clearer the future will be", adding that this show is being made "for the sake of truth and a better future"), this is an irrelevant topic for many other characters. Echoing the widespread de-politicisation of European citizens (noted by Hobsbawm[92]), before the start of the show, Virgil's lover, for instance, claims "no one cares about it", to which he responds: "what do you want me to do, a show about inflation and gypsy music?". It is the opposition between those who care and those who find the revolution dismissible that serves as an ironic commentary on the aura of this event.

At the same time, by alluding to a stereotypical perception of Romanian culture, Virgil situates the film between the national and the universal spheres. Indeed, for many, the film's international success has to do with its universality, which is achieved through style, as well as through humour. Although some of the jokes are generated by language, the references are not nationally specific. For instance, when looking for a dictionary, Virgil's wife advises him to "look behind the bearded man" (small cast busts we see on his book shelf), to which he replies: "which one, Aristotle or Plato?".

The presence of TV also contributes to the film's universality; the role of this medium in *12:08 East of Bucharest* is in a way more central than in the two previous films analysed in this section. The exact time of Ceausescu's fleeing the country is what can determine whether there was a revolution in this town. If, as most viewers argue, people only came to the streets after that time to celebrate, then the revolution seems to have been confined to Bucharest and Timisoara. It is because Ceausescu's helicopter was on TV (in Romania, the revolution was, indeed, televised) that this fact is not contested, instead it has been accepted as unquestionably real. TV is here part of a double involvement in memory and history: it revives the memories of those who lived the revolution (referring back to the images of Ceausescu and his wife); but it is also used to write history (in the sense that Virgil's show discards the possibility of a revolution in the town).

While *12:08 East of Bucharest* does not engage in a debate about whether or not communism was bad (even though Piscoci, for instance, regrets the 100 lei – leu was then and is today the Romanian currency, as the country is expected to join the euro in 2015 – Ceausescu had promised just before fleeing), it seems to discard the "heroic" paradigm that normally sustains the narration of revolutions, as instead the experiences of "ordinary people" (for instance, Piscoci, stealing flowers to please his wife) are highlighted. Whereas in *Sophie Scholl* the main character becomes a heroin through her sacrifice, in *Black Book* there are no heroes as everyone has a dark side – even Ellis, who kills someone at the end of the film. In a similar vein, in *12:08 East of Bucharest* the dark sides of Piscoci (more naïve) and especially Manescu (who lies on live TV) are revealed; no sacrifice is presented. On the contrary, expediency and opportunism are the attitudes highlighted. Revolution is here depicted as a human experience and the transition from a communist to a postcommunist Romania

represented as calm and simple – as demonstrated by the final call, of a mother whose son was killed in 1989 urging them to go outside and see the snow that has started to fall.

By refuting the idea of a revolution in this town, the film also seems to break from the past. *12:08 East of Bucharest* is set in 2006 and it offers a contemporary view of Romania. The character of the Chinese immigrant Chen (George Guoqingyun), who is abused by a drunken Manescu, contributes to this modern depiction. Chen's ambiguous position within the community is further highlighted by his call to Virgil's show, at which point, in an ironic twist to the narrative, he strongly defends the history teacher, praising him for his honesty and kindness. Embarrassed, Virgil, does not however appreciate his call, claiming: "I don't think the Romanian revolution is any of your business". The inclusion of Chen and its role in the film hints at the contemporary situation of Romania in terms of migration – an issue further explored in the next chapter.

Indeed, if the history alluded to in the film might be specific to Romania, in its depiction and concern with the present, *12:08 East of Bucharest* also has implications for Europe more generally. As Rivi has argued, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc in 1989 brought about a European identity crisis. For her, "Porumboiu's film interrogates the past in order to face a vacuum of identity that may well extend from Romania to the whole of Europe, where the West and the East are no longer poles of a safe and stable identification."[93] "Western" references abound in *12:08 East of Bucharest* (for instance, Christmas trees, Christmas lights and mentions of the French Revolution), but whereas the replacement of national culture with Western references is generally accepted, the loss of the national to other cultures beyond Europe is condemned. Hence, Virgil orders the band in the studio to stop

playing Latin American music and focus on traditional Romanian songs, and we witness the contempt for China in Virgil's hostile reception of Chen's call. While *Good Bye Lenin!* defined in clear terms the significance of these older poles, the boundaries between East and West are, in *12:08 East of Bucharest* much more blurred. The West is also more welcoming in the latter – something which Alex criticised, but that most characters in *12:08 East of Bucharest* seem to aspire to. Eastern Europe appears here no longer to be the "other", but a region consolidating its position in the path for political integration, and the film's mobilisation of the past, mediated through TV, contributes to this perception.

Conclusion: historical films and the idea of Europe

This chapter confirms the important connection political institutions, scholars and filmmakers have established between the idea of Europe and the European past. The fact that this is a continent with history defines Europe at least in discourses about itself. Furthermore, there is, in the idea of Europe, as in contemporary European cinema, an incessant return to history as a way to look for the continent's meaning and defining values.

However, these films do not simply illustrate this connection, they also explore its groundings and implications. Such a questioning can be seen in all the films analysed here, although it is more visible in those about Europe's recent history. If, as Pierre Sorlin argues, "history is a society's memory of its past, and […] the functioning of this memory depends on the situation in which the society finds itself"[94], a predominance of self-reflexive films (characteristic of postmodernism, where a permanent questioning is highly valued) expresses the idea of a Europe dealing with an identity crisis. History becomes the privileged theme for a continent

that wishes to go back in time (to its power position up to the early 20th century), but it also, paradoxically, betrays Europe, by rendering visible some of the key problems it has been and is still today forced to deal with.

Three different modes of engaging with history have surfaced in my discussion. Firstly, history was associated with glory. Heritage cinema packages Europe's historical prestige in a mainstream, popular art form, highlighting the promotion of Europe as an attractive tourist destination, based on culture as a defining and a selling point. In films such as *Girl with a Pearl Earring* and *La Vie en rose*, Europe is seen as a cultural hub, as a continent of the arts, spanning from Vermeer to French *chanson*. Through their commemorative tone, these films denote a Europe that was once as powerful, as admired and as influential as the artists and the practices depicted. Europe's cultural aura is appealing both for internal and external audiences, for local and international visitors, thus showing the desire of the EU to be seen as a global actor, but one with a distinctive (cultural) trait. In today's relatively marginal Europe, culture is not just one of its key features, it is also a "soft" political weapon, one that might contribute to a new, re-conquered and reinforced, position on the international scene.

At the same time, both at internal and external level, heritage films contribute to knowledge of Europe. Many of the historical titles released with the support of MEDIA, including those films examined here, work as statues or museums, offering European and global audiences pieces of living history, constructing narratives around key figures and art forms.

The glory of such films and the figures they represent is however compromised by more dramatic memories. The depiction of war as a human conflict (not so much a diplomatic, or even a military one) highlights a Europe of extremes, as well as the

best (young Sophie as a heroin) and the worst (collaborators in Nazi occupied Holland) of its history. Seeing the First World War as a European civil war has implications for a reading of the 20th century. This becomes a period of conflict, characterised by a European crisis that spreads to the military, the political and the cultural domains – a crisis the EU founding fathers have attempted to address. The films analysed in the second section of this chapter highlight the difficulties Europe had to surmount to become an entity (especially *Black Book*), but also the integrationist impetus that has characterised key episodes in its past (the truce in *Merry Christmas*, Sophie's sacrifice in *Sophie Scholl*). By stressing the traumas (as well as the values necessary to overcome them) that have triggered European reunification, these films can also be seen as monuments to the integration process – particularly the latter, given its pedagogic tone. But whereas *Sophie Scholl* presents the thesis of the heroic paradigm so in vogue in Europe, *Black Book* offers its antithesis. Whereas the former raises questions of authenticity (which the film addresses by mentioning, in the beginning, the new documents found), the latter, with its revisionist outlook, is in line with the perception of history written as a conspiracy.

Thirdly, I have moved to a focus on politics, a crucial part of Europe's recent history and legacy, especially for the understanding of the EU. The films I have analysed in section 3.3 bring history to a political domain by criticising a uniform view of the past and stressing the value of alternative tales. At the same time, they question the role of TV in the construction of collective history. While TV can be unifying (literally in the cases of East and West Germany in *Good Bye Lenin!*), it is also universally recognised (as a device but also as a catalyst for history) by spectators all over Europe and beyond. Contemporary events are, by nature,

televised, but TV also allows for the formation of alternative histories. In *Good Bye Lenin!*, for instance, whether "official" (the fall of the Wall) or "fabricated" (the Coca-Cola recipe), the events portrayed are all transmitted, but most importantly, built by TV. Whereas in *Good Morning, Night* TV is opposed, through its objective nature, to Chiara's dreams, in *Good Bye Lenin!* we see how it works in conjunction with fantasy, helping Alex and Denis to create a new reality.

In *Good Morning Night*, *Good Bye Lenin!* and *12:08 East of Bucharest*, this political dimension is re-sized to a personal scale (as had been suggested by Elsaesser, for whom European films are highly individual). Although the individuals represented are, particularly in *Good Bye Lenin!*, framed within a family (a collective noun sometimes made equal to the nation) through these characters, the films highlight the subjectivity of history. In this sense, they follow contemporary historiographies, as they turn (as previously discussed with regards to the Holocaust) to personal accounts, which not only revise history, but also complement it.

The human character of the individuals depicted on screen is strongly underlined in all of the films examined in this chapter, as there is a focus on feelings and emotions, from admiration (*Girl with a Pearl Earring*) to love and passion (*Lady Chatterley*), ambition (*La Vie en rose*) to sacrifice (*Sophie Scholl*), compassion (*Good Morning, Night*) to pride (*12:08 East of Bucharest*).

But a re-scaling of historical narratives also takes place at another level, as these films go beyond their national spheres, albeit in different ways. This is the case for *La Vie en rose* (where French references are filtered for international audiences); of *Good Bye Lenin!* (its promotion being centred on a family plot, but also on the film's genre, as a comedy); and, perhaps more obviously, of *Merry Christmas* (where Europe as universality reduces Scotland, Germany and France to cultural

stereotypes). These films are thus examples of a way in which history, even when highly national, can become relevant for Europe as a whole.

The idea of Europe as welcoming and all-encompassing that arises in the first section re-surfaces in the films about the First and Second World Wars in the form of "Europeanness as universality". In heritage and war films the representation of the past also refers forward to other, more recent moments in history (for instance, the Holocaust in *Merry Christmas* and the invasion of Iraq in *Black Book*), but in contemporary political films the re-writing of history culminates in an open future. Hence, self-questioning also becomes one of the central features of the idea of Europe in European cinema.

The fact that this questioning takes place not only in *auteur* films (*Good Morning, Night*, for instance) but also in popular comedies (*Good Bye Lenin!*) demonstrates that the sphere of reflection can be enlarged, thus expanding the limited traditional view of European cinema as art cinema. Both art and popular films have been presented as "universal" to some extent – as I highlighted for instance the abstract style and slow pace of *Good Morning, Night* and the sense of fun nostalgia conveyed by *Good Bye Lenin!*. All the films analysed in this chapter can be seen as "quality" films (as desired by the European Commission), even if this status is achieved through different mechanisms, that is to say plot (the artistic focus of *Girl with a Pearl Earring*), production design (*Merry Christmas*), detailed historical reconstructions (*Sophie Scholl*), budget (*Black Book*) or relation to specific cinematic movements (*12:08 East of Bucharest*). This sense of quality is tied to a need to please all – and that is why so many films here are perceived as universal, in their style and contents.

The European character of these films thus goes beyond their themes. While in

some cases the idea of Europe expressed is in accordance with that defended by the EU, these films' European identity also lies in their significance as examples of a particular conception of contemporary European cinema. Paradoxically, even films that present a more negative idea of Europe (for instance, *Black Book)* can be used as a political tool of communication of the EU and of Europe more generally. The Europeanness of the MEDIA films analysed in this chapter is thus not limited to the screen, but can also be seen in the communication involved in their promotion, particularly within Europe.

The next chapter turns to films set in the present, looking at the way urban space and social issues raised today also contribute to a specific idea of Europe.

Endnotes

[1] George Steiner, *Una certa idea di Europa* (Milan: Garzanti, 2006), 37
[2] 'Commission proposes "European Heritage" Label', *EurActiv*, 10/03/10. http://www.euractiv.com/en/culture/commission-proposes-european-heritage-label-news-326066 Accessed online, 29/03/10.
[3] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London; New York: Verso, 1994), 243
[4] Ibid., 242
[5] Robert Shannan Peckham, *Rethinking Heritage – Cultures and Politics in Europe* (London and NY: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 3
[6] Ginette Vincendeau, *Encyclopedia of European Cinema* (London: Cassell, 1995), xv
[7] Wendy Everett, 'Timetravel and European film' in *European identity in cinema*, ed. Wendy Everett (Exeter: Intellect Books, 2005 [1996]), 107
[8] Ginette Vincendeau, *Film/Literature/Heritage – A Sight and Sound Reader* (London: BFI, 2001), xviii
[9] Ibid., xviii
[10] Andrew Higson, 'Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film' in *Fires were started: British Cinema and Tatcherism,* ed. Lester Friedman (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press and UCL Press, 1993), 113
[11] Robert Rosenstone, *History on Film/Film on History* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), 45
[12] Higson, 1993, 118
[13] Richard Dyer, 'Heritage Cinema in Europe' in *Encyclopedia of European Cinema*, ed. Ginette Vincendeau (London: Cassell, 1995), 205
[14] Ibid., 205
[15] Belén Vidal, 'Classic Adaptations, Modern Reinventions', *Screen* 43:1 (2002), 5
[16] Dyer, 1995, 204
[17] Ibid., 204
[18] Ginette Vincendeau, 'Unsettling Memories', in Vincendeau, 2001, 30
[19] Peckham, 2003, 4
[20] Samuel, 1994, 177
[21] Ibid., 139
[22] Ibid., 214
[23] Claire Monk, 'Sexuality and Heritage' in Vincendeau ,2001, 8
[24] Pascal Binétruy, 'La chute de la maison histoire', *Positif* 563 (2008), 57
[25] Catherine Wheatley, 'Lady Chatterley', *Sight and Sound* 17:9 (2007), 67
[26] Marcia Landy, 'Looking Backward: History and Thatcherism in the Recent British Cinema', *Film Criticism* 15:1 (1990), 19
[27] Liz Beardsworth, 'Becoming Jane', *Empire* 214 (2007), 56
[28] See for instance, Eckart Voigts-Virchow (ed.), *Janespotting and Beyond* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2004)
[29] George F. Custen, *Bio/Pics* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 72
[30] See for instance Peter Bradshaw, 'Missing in action', *The Guardian* (22 June 2007), 9
[31] See for instance Ginette Vincendeau, *Stars and Stardom in French Cinema* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 215
[32] Vanessa Schwartz, Lecture on *La Vie en rose* to Graduate Seminar on 'French Cinema: History, Ideology and Politics', King's College London, 16 March 2009
[33] Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 204
[34] At the time of completing this thesis Belén Vidal's book on heritage film for Wallflower Press Short Cuts series was published. The section on *Merry Christmas*, which acknowledges my research, reaches similar conclusions to mine in relation to the connections between the national and the transnational in recent European co-productions but overall offers a different kind of perspective on the film, as her focus is on the particularities of the heritage genre and especially the French context; see Belén Vidal, *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 78-90
[35] Winter and Prost, 2005, 27
[36] Simon Crook, 'Joyeux Noël', *Empire* 199 (2006), 57
[37] Thomas Elsaesser, *European Cinema: face to face with Hollywood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 21

[38] Pierre Sorlin, 'Cinema and the Memory of the Great War' in *The First World War and Popular Cinema*, ed. Michael Paris (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 21
[39] Luisa Rivi, *European cinema after 1989* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3
[40] Interview with the director Christian Carion, by Ghislain Coustalot, *Première* 345 (2005), 20. My translation. In French in the original: "[*Vous vouliez faire un travail d'historien?*] Oui, je n'ai réalisé ce film que pour cette raison."
[41] Menno Spiering and Michael Wintle (eds.), *Ideas of Europe since 1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11
[42] Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 1994), 14
[43] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), xvii
[44] Custen, 1992, 186
[45] Cyril Neyrat, 'Sophie Scholl', *Cahiers du Cinéma* 611 (2006), 61
[46] Director´s Statement in the interior leaflet of the DVD edited by the ICA in April 2006
[47] 'Breaking the Language barrier', *Screen International* 1535 (10 February 2006), 17
[48] Robert Shannan Peckham, 'Mourning heritage: memory, trauma and restitution', in Peckham, 2003, 206
[49] Peckham in Peckham, 2003, 207
[50] Helmut Schmitz, *A Nation of Victims?* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 1
[51] Ibid., 3
[52] Ibid., 5
[53] Thomas Elsaesser, 'European Cinema in the 21st Century: Enlarging the Context', Keynote speech in "The Europeanness of European Cinema" Conference, King's College London, UK, 4 June 2010
[54] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989), 8
[55] Thomas Elsaesser, 'Subject positions, speaking positions', in *The Persistence of History*, ed. Vivian Sobchack (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 145
[56] Ginette Vincendeau, 'Black Book', *Sight and Sound* 17:2 (2007), 43
[57] James Naremore, 'Films of the Year, 2007', *Film Quarterly* 61:4 (2008), 58
[58] Linda Ruth Williams, 'Sleeping with the enemy', *Sight and Sound* 17:2 (2007), 19
[59] Naremore, 2008, 58
[60] Ian Nathan, 'Black Book', *Empire* 212 (Feb 2007), 46
[61] Williams, 2007, 20
[62] Rab Bennett, *Under the Shadow of the Swastika* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999), 24
[63] Ibid., 27
[64] Ibid., 32
[65] Ibid., 33
[66] Vincendeau, 2007, 44
[67] Marijke de Valck, *Film Festivals* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 150
[68] See for instance Alessandra Retico, *La Repubblica* 04/09/03 or Elizabeth Guider in *Variety* 05/09/03.
[69] de Valck, 2007, 148
[70] See for instance 'Bellocchio, deluso, se ne va: "Il mio successo? Consenso di giovani e pubblico"', *La Stampa*, 07/09/03, http://archivio.lastampa.it/LaStampaArchivio/main/History/tmpl_viewObj.jsp?objid=4680558 Accessed online 27/09/10.
[71] De Valck, 2007, 150
[72] Nick Hasted, 'Italian Cinema: Maestros and Mobsters', in *Sight and Sound* 20:5 (May 2010), 24
[73] Martin O'Shaughnessy, *The New Face of Political Cinema* (Oxford; New York: Berghahn, 2007)
[74] Alan O'Leary, 'Dead Man Walking: The Aldo Moro kidnap and Palimpsest History in *Buongiorno, notte*', *New Cinemas* 6:1 (2008), 37
[75] Elsaesser, 1996, 146
[76] Randall Halle, 'German film, European film', *Screen* 47:2 (2006), 255
[77] Despite not known to international audiences, Katrin Sass's status as a East German film star is noted, for instance, by Eddie Cockrell, *Variety* 390 (2003), 42
[78] Halle, 2006, 256
[79] Cockrell, 2003, 42
[80] Andrew Hoskins, 'New Memory: Mediating History', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 21:4 (2004): 336
[81] Ibid., 336

[82] Roumiana Deltcheva, 'Reliving the Past in Recent East European Cinemas', in *East European Cinemas*, ed. Anikó Imre (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 203
[83] Cited in Deltcheva, 2005, 202
[84] Richard S. Esbenshade, 'Remembering to Forget', *Representations* 49 (Winter 1995), 85
[85] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiii
[86] Pam Cook, *Screening the Past* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 5
[87] Matthias Uecker, 'Fractured families – united countries?', *New Cinemas* 5:3 (2007), 198
[88] 'Interview with Daniel Burlac', 08/01/07, http://cineuropa.org/ffocusinterview.aspx?lang=en&treeID=1313&documentID=65820 Accessed online 24/08/10
[89] See for instance Lee Marshall, 'Breaking the Rules', *Screen International* 1599 (8 June 2007), 31
[90] See for instance Nick Roddick, 'Eastern Promises', *Sight and Sound* 17:10 (October 2007)
[91] Ibid., 36
[92] Hobsbawm, 1994, 581
[93] Rivi, 2007, 23
[94] Pierre Sorlin, *The Film in History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 16

4. THIS IS EUROPE

In this chapter, I turn from the representation of Europe's past to a focus on Europe's present. My analysis is structured in two sections: European cities and then "state-of-the-nation" films. In the first section, I look at different modes of depicting and conceptualising urban space in contemporary European cinema, from iconic representations of Europe's capitals to universalism and cosmopolitanism. Here I pay particular attention to the figure of the tourist, characterising European cities in relation to the notions of romance and artistic quality. I also question the place of the European city in a globalised world, through the dichotomy of old vs. new. In the second section, I consider dystopian views of urban space, particularly through the issue of surveillance and by looking at social realist films. The chapter is centred on Europe's borders (geographical, cultural and political) and covers topics such as multiculturalism, religious and linguistic differences and immigration, as well as their implications for the construction of "Fortress Europe". By looking at the overlapping discourses of tourism and migration, Chapter 4 offers a picture of the spatial and social realities of contemporary Europe and the way these relate to the EU and the cinema it supports.

4.1 European cities and filmic representations of urban space

As Arnaldo Bagnasco and Patrick Le Galès put it, "Europe is inconceivable without its cities."[1] Cities have occupied a central place in European life, from its Hellenic heritage to the contemporary era. Today, they "house 80% of Europe's population and most of its social and environmental challenges"[2]. The urban sphere is thus present in a number of key EU policies, in areas such as employment, social

exclusion and poverty, transport, energy, information and communication technologies, culture and youth.

Given the importance of the city in the European context, its social, political, and cultural meanings have continually been questioned. This was added to by key political transformations, particularly globalisation and Europeanisation. Although globalisation is also a recurrent theme in this chapter, I am chiefly concerned with the European integration process and its effects on the urban scale. As Le Galès goes on to suggest, "the making of the European Union (EU) gives a different meaning to the term 'European cities', going beyond sociological and geographical analysis. They are now part of a polity in the making"[3]. The importance attributed to cities in today's Europe is matched by an interest in cinematic representations of urban space, as will be further discussed later on.

As cities gain a prominent role as political entities, their place in a globalised world is also asserted through culture. Two of the defining elements of "a certain idea of Europe" proposed by George Steiner are deeply tied to the urban experience. As he suggests, cafés characterise the European metropolitan landscape; they are "the place for intellectual debate" frequented by "the *flâneur* and the poet"[4] – utterly urban figures. At the same time, Europe, for Steiner, "has been and is still today *walked*" [original emphasis][5]. Europe (and its cities) is a place of narrow streets, footpaths and visitor routes. Chapter 3 reflected on the importance of heritage for the construction of an idea of Europe. The city is *par excellence* (although not exclusively, as in my previous discussion of nature and the countryside) the space where the heritage industry develops, becoming, at the same time, an item to protect, cherish and celebrate in itself.

Given that cities become particularly useful for the political communication of

the European project, EU cultural policies include initiatives in the urban sector, the most prominent of which has been the European Capital of Culture programme. Athens was the first city to receive this title in 1985. On the one hand, the city was chosen because the programme was initiated by the star Melina Mercouri (at the time Minister of Culture for Greece) together with Jack Lang, French Minister of Culture. On the other, it carried a particular signification as the "cradle of Western civilization". While the inception of the city as a participatory arena can be traced back to Ancient Greece (and to its designation as *polis*), one of the core values of the EU, humanism, was, as Lang wrote in a note to Mercouri, "invented in your country circa 2500 years ago".[6]

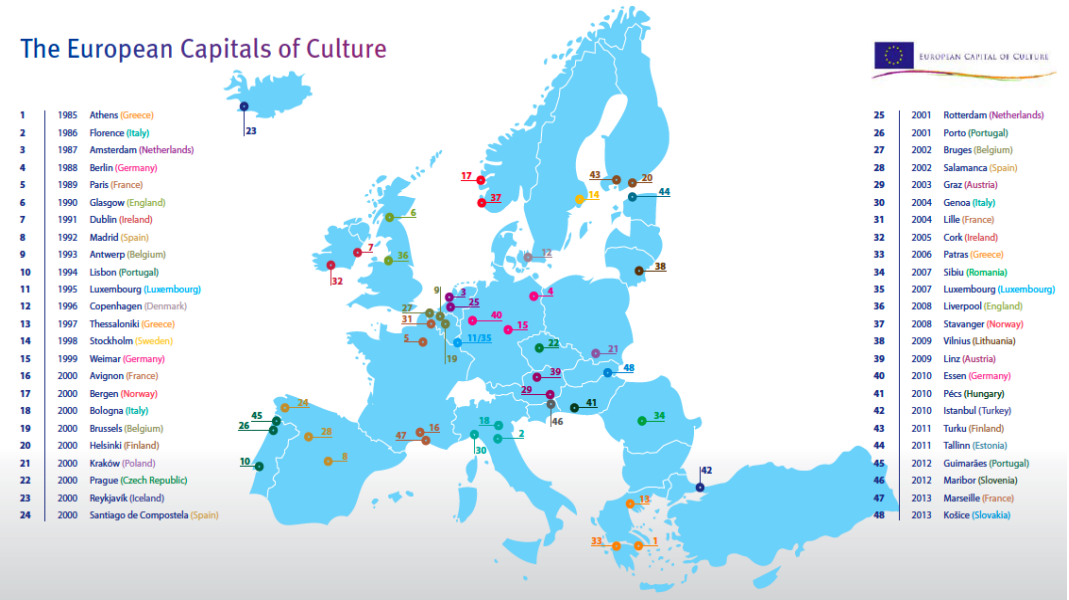

Fig. 4.1 European capitals of culture since 1985

These "capitals of culture" become not only part of a larger network, being re-branded and placed in a map as European, but also constitute a new form of heritage. After Athens, 48 cities have received the title (Fig. 4.1). By 2010, all EU member-states have hosted the event at least once, with the European Capital of Culture

initiative spreading also to non-members – for instance, Turkey, and the Istanbul 2010 initiative. Not just capitals, but also smaller or developing cities have been named European capitals of culture, with the initiative at times contradicting the reality of the city, including its cinematic representation. Glasgow, for instance, constitutes an interesting example, as will be argued in a later section. The conflation of European urban space and European culture was particularly visible in the case of Athens, but Istanbul also came to constitute a remarkable case study. By focusing on Muslim Europe, one of the aims of the initiative was, as stated in its official website, "to take a giant step for mutual understanding".[7] The way in which European capitals of culture aim to reposition cities in a new European sphere is similar to what the prominence of urban space in contemporary film achieves. This chapter will focus on the way contemporary European cinema uses cities as defining elements of its Europeanness, at the same time putting forward a particular notion of Europe.

Simultaneously, and in line with the "spatial turn" observed in other social sciences, there has been a renewed interest in the relationship between cinema and the city. As Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice note, these discussions are often articulated around the modern/postmodern opposition[8] – a framework that, as Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli observe, has been often translated into the Europe vs. USA dichotomy.[9] Studies of European urban space and its cinematic representations include Mazierska and Rascaroli's *From Moscow to Madrid*, where they argue that, even though European cities are "less postmodern" than American cities, they are also characterised by a post-industrial landscape.

Such landscapes can be seen in films like *La Haine/Hate*, *Los Lunes al Sol/Mondays in the Sun* and *Red Road*, among others. In accordance with the idea of Europe's new marginality on the global stage and an inherent self-questioning

(discussed in the previous chapter), Stephen Barber claims "European filmmakers now increasingly interrogate the very form of Europe, often perceiving its cities as existing in a process of erosion or disappearance".[10] Similarly, Myrto Konstantarakos notes how, in the essays included in the edited volume *Spaces in European Cinema*, "the recurrent theme is that of centrality and marginality and, more precisely, of exclusion and inclusion – a *leitmotif* one does not find in the filmmaking of other cultures with quite the same obsession."[11] Ever changing, urban space becomes the key sphere in which to reflect on Europe, both internally (in relation to the European integration process) and externally (with regards to globalisation). At the same time, contemporary films illustrate both the new European city and immutable ideas of Europe.

MEDIA city films

The role of the city in cinema takes several shapes: from being a mere location to an actual character, thus blurring the definition of "city films". The table below (4.1) lists films supported by MEDIA where the city plays a significant role, albeit in different ways. It highlights the predominance of films shot and/or set in Western Europe, thus hinting at the internal divisions of the continent still existing and alluded to in previous chapters. But the cinematic history of the metropolises depicted on screen is equally relevant. Whereas in films like *2 Days in Paris* or *Amélie* the city (Paris) is central to the concerns of the narrative and *mise-en-scène*, *Caos Calmo/Quiet Chaos* and *Mies vailla menneisyyttä/The Man Without a Past*, for instance, are set in Rome and Helsinki, respectively, but are not "about" those two places. In *4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days*, Bucharest is never mentioned, even if the fact that the action takes place in an urban space has implications for the

understanding of the film's plot. The work of key European *auteurs* such as Pedro Almodóvar, Mike Leigh and Aki Kaurismäki also stands out – as well as the cities often seen in their films: Madrid, London and Helsinki.

Film	City
2 days in Paris *Amélie* * *Belle toujours* *Hell* *Hidden* *Paris* *Paris je t'aime* *The beat that my heart skipped* *The Dreamers* * *The Science of Sleep*	Paris
Happy go-lucky *Irina Palm* *Match Point* *Secrets and Lies* *	London
Pot Luck * *Russian Dolls*	Paris – Barcelona Paris – London – St Petersburg
All About My Mother *	Madrid – Barcelona
Volver *Chaotic Ana* *Princesses*	Madrid
Lights in the Dusk *The Man Without a Past* *	Helsinki
Red Road	Glasgow
4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days	Bucharest
Quiet Chaos	Rome
Head-On *The Edge of Heaven*	(Bremen) – Hamburg – Istanbul

* Films included in the 2007 MEDIA "clips"

Table 4.1 MEDIA "city" films and spaces represented

As I look at the ways in which European cities are represented in contemporary film, my analysis cuts across genres, nationalities and filmmakers to offer a more comprehensive picture of transnational European cinema. In the case studies examined in this chapter, cities are prominent to different degrees, although I pay attention to both the representation of urban space as such and that of particular places. I question not only the extent to which cities in contemporary cinema contribute to the idea of Europe, but also how that relates to the official discourse of

the EU.

From Europe with love: urban space and cinematic postcards

As symbols of Europe, cities are also tourist attractions. Not only the life-style and culture that characterises them, but also key landmarks are at the centre of their global appeal. The power of cinema in the touristic promotion of cities has been noticed by local authorities all over Europe, which have not only instated local film commissions, but are also often co-producers of European and international films. The programme of many European Capitals of Culture has included the commissioning of feature films devoted to the metropolises celebrated, namely *Lisbon Story*, set in the Portuguese capital, and *Of Time and the City*, in Liverpool. Examples of this growing importance can also be drawn from the private sector – for instance, *Somers Town*, a film entirely funded by the high-speed rail company Eurostar.

In his discussion of the "tourist gaze", John Urry defines tourism as a visual practice.[12] Both the production (through photography or video) and consumption of images (postcards, paintings, fridge magnets and other souvenirs) are a key dimension of the visitor's experience. Naturally selective, postcards present general views of a given place (for instance, through panoramic shots) or focus on key elements (often a monument), condensing, in both cases, one or more potential meanings of that space. Because of their static nature, postcards also reinforce the idea of cohesion and stability, giving cities a timeless feel.

Postcards also provide a pertinent concept for the way European cities feature in contemporary cinema. In the first part of this chapter, I look at films that use iconic views of key European cities, conceptualising them as what I propose to call

cinematic postcards. On the one hand, the notion of "cinematic postcard" refers to a film's content, as landmarks and well-known monuments are featured on screen, such as the Eiffel Tower (in Paris), the Houses of Parliament (in London) and the Sagrada Família Cathedral (in Barcelona). Often represented stereotypically, such icons contribute, on a primary level, to geographically situate particular films; at the same time, they offer a glossy image of such locations, adding to the film's aesthetic construction. On the other hand, attached to the practice of tourism and to someone visiting and therefore only temporarily inhabiting a given space, the idea of the postcard hints at a mode of address that is generally synthetic. As snapshots, postcards are produced and consumed in a brief moment and aim for a widely accepted view of the place represented.

While the depiction of iconic landmarks on screen is not new, a contemporary surge is taking place, tied to changes occurring both in European society and in cinema. First, the phenomenon illustrates the substantial growth of tourism and the development of the heritage industry as mentioned before, as well as an association of Europe with the arts as demonstrated by the European Capital of Culture initiative. Second, not only does film serve new functions, for instance becoming a key element in the promotion of various sites, the medium itself has been transformed by the development of new technologies and the emergence of a postmodern aesthetics that, as has been argued, privileges style over substance. Serge Daney famously established a connection between postcards and his love for cinema. But as he puts it, the postcard is "the product of a modest and anonymous commercial production that doesn't aim in any way towards art"[13]. Such a perceived lack of artistic value illustrates a broader way of thinking that has generally disparaged shots of iconic buildings and landscapes, in the same way that the "postcard aesthetics" of the

cinéma du look were dismissed by critics for being pretty but superficial.[14]

The city (or part of the city) framed in postcards, as in Marc Augé's reflection on particular areas of central Paris, "asserts itself right away as a significant place, as the expression of a myth".[15] Rather than deconstructing such myths, my analysis considers this type of communication as belonging to a wider strategy for the promotion of Europe. By using the postcard as a metaphor for a particular mode of representation of European urban space in contemporary films, I argue these should not be dismissed as clichéd, but that they carry significant implications for an understanding of European cinema as well as the international perception of European cities.

Indeed, a considerable number of contemporary films include or work as cinematic postcards, projecting fixed and memorable images of a city on screen. *Paris,* for instance, directed by French filmmaker Cédric Klapisch (analysed in detail towards the end of this section), depicts in a large number of scenes the city's most recognisable landmarks. Its very first shot, an aerial view of the French capital, is followed, in the credit sequence, by the Eiffel Tower and other iconic monuments or neighbourhoods, such as the Sacré Coeur, the Opera and Montmartre.

An additional significant number of contemporary European films are set in Paris. This is no surprise given the predominance of French films in my corpus (as noted in Chapter 2), but also the status of Paris as a cinematic city – the most frequently filmed city in Europe and possibly the world. Given the vitality of the French film industry, but also the status of the capital of France as a cinematic city, the body of literature on Paris in the cinema is substantial and still growing. Writers approach the topic from the perspective of national and European cinema, stars, directors and key cinematic periods or movements, such as poetic realism, the French

New Wave and, more recently, the *banlieue* film.[16] As this chapter will show, however, a detailed analysis of a number of contemporary European films invites a discourse on the Europeanness of Paris, a theme that will be explored through a consideration of not only cinematic views often associated with tourism but also a certain artistic conception of film. My analysis considers Paris as a transnational location, placing it in the context of contemporary European cinema. At the same time, as it looks at recent representations of the city, it cuts across genres and directors to focus on views often associated with tourism.

While different studies of cinematic Paris privilege particular aspects of the city's representation, there seems to be a general (and stereotypical) view of the French capital. For Vincendeau, "[e]legant or picturesque apartment blocks, intimate courtyards and bustling cafés constitute its cinematic grammar."[17] *Amélie* is a key example of this cinematic grammar, albeit a new, postmodern grammar. With 8 million spectators in France and a total of almost 20 million spectators in Europe, the film has been the subject of a large number of essays and publications – a debate Isabelle Vanderschelden has extensively accounted for.[18] The idealised Paris seen in *Amélie* has reflected on the city itself, where tours of the film are now available (for instance, as in the Eurostar campaign: 'Let's go on the Amélie's tour!'[19]).

In addition to Parisian architecture, films listed in Table 4.1 reflect the cinematic status of the French capital by focusing on cultural aspects. As such, they also work as *conceptual* rather than just *visual* postcards. In such cases, their meaning is not conveyed through the image on screen but can be found in the film's narrative, dialogue or credits. Here the function of the postcard is not so much to situate the film in spatial terms (although it still refers to a concrete geographical location) as in cultural terms, drawing on general perceptions of the feel, atmosphere

and character of specific cities. *Paris*, for instance, not only features key landmarks in its presentation of the French capital, it also casts French stars that are, as Catherine Wheatley suggests, "themselves Parisian institutions"[20], including Juliette Binoche and Romain Duris. Whereas *The Dreamers* shows the tumultuous political landscape of Paris in 1968, also developing a sense of cinephilia, *Belle toujours* mirrors simultaneously the cinematic tradition of the city (since it is a sequel to *Belle de jour*) and landmark Paris, using images of iconic buildings and neighbourhoods as transitions between sequences.

Similar transitions (including aerial views of Paris, as well as shots of Montmartre, the Pantheon and the Eiffel Tower) are used in the collective film *Paris je t'aime*. Following the tradition of *Paris vu par* and *Paris vu par… vingt ans après*, *Paris je t'aime* presents a number of love stories set in different neighbourhoods of the French capital. Composed of short films directed by French and international high profile directors (Olivier Assayas, Joel and Ethan Coen, Isabel Coixet, Wes Craven, Tom Tykwer and Gus van Sant, to name just a few), the film is also thus, as noted by one critic, "a guided tour to contemporary cinema".[21]

In its use of the French language (also maintained at international level, including in the UK and the USA), the film's title already functions as a postcard, hinting at the stereotype of Paris as a romantic city. Through its eighteen segments, *Paris je t'aime* constitutes a catalogue of the different dimensions of love, from hetero- and homosexual romance, to the affection between father and daughter or mother and son; it also covers different stages in these relationships, from *coup de foudre* and falling in love to keeping the spark alive or breaking up. Emblematic depictions of the French capital, the film's sequences can be seen as signs, since pictures of lovers in Paris function, as Urry has argued, "metonymically"[22], by

referring to a wider view of the city as the international capital of romance. However, just as reviewers noted the avoidance of clichés in terms of the representation of landmarks[23] (which, with the exception of the Eiffel Tower, do not figure in the film's eighteen segments), the film also explores other aspects of the city, beyond its romanticism. In *Paris je t'aime*, views of the city span from "the city of lights, the city for lovers" (as read in a travel guide in the segment by the Coen brothers) to a more complex, global city, where there are people from different ages, sexualities and origins.

Directed by Julie Delpy (who also stars in the film), *2 Days in Paris* also draws on and questions two particular stereotypes of the French capital: Paris as a cinematic city and Paris as the city of love. The two main characters are Marion (played by Delpy) and Jack (Adam Goldberg), two Americans in Paris, even if one is "more American" than the other (Marion has, like Delpy herself, double, American and French, nationality). There are references to Marlon Brando's performance in *Ultimo Tango a Parigi/Last Tango in Paris* and, later on, to the French New Wave, as Jack tries on different sunglasses and asks Marion "which are more Godard?". But whereas Venice is, as Marion states at the beginning of the film, "the city where lovers go", the romantic aura of Paris is almost destroyed – with Jack, towards the end of the film confessing: "I want to remember the least romantic day in Parisian history".

Centred on Marion and Jack's romance (or lack thereof), the film further explores the relationship between France and the USA (made clear in a shot that simultaneously frames a replica of the Statue of Liberty – at the Pont de Grenelle – and the Eiffel Tower). In *2 Days in Paris*, the French capital is also the city of art galleries and of political art. In one of the film's key scenes, Marion and Jack visit a

very sexually explicit (and by consequence "exotic") exhibition, which is in line with an American stereotypical view of France and of Europe more generally, alluded to in my analysis of the MEDIA "clips".[24]

By quoting the French capital in their titles, these two films directly signal widespread connotations of Paris, especially for international (and in this case American) audiences, who thus seem to appear at the recipient end of conceptual and visual postcards.[25] At the same time, both films offer a depiction of Europe as a travel destination, through a focus on the figure of the tourist, namely Jack in *2 Days in Paris* and the main characters of two segments from *Paris je t'aime*. The sketch directed by Joel and Ethan Coen, for instance, is set in the Tuileries Metro station and focuses on a tourist (Steve Buscemi) who reads passages from his travel guide as he waits for a train. Advised by his book to avoid eye contact, he inadvertently looks up to meet the gaze of a young girl on the opposite platform. As her boyfriend notices, the couple walks up to Buscemi's character to confront him. In the last segment of the film, directed by Alexander Payne, Carol (Margo Martindale), a postwoman from Denver, describes her recent visit to Paris and her love for the city, but is presented throughout as alienated, narrating her disappointment with Paris and her failed attempts to understand its culture or blend in.

Just as Jack has a miserable time during those two days in Paris, so do these segments present a negative view of tourists and, to a certain extent, make fun of them. In the Coen Brothers' segment, Buscemi's character is violently beaten up and ends up on the floor, covered by postcards of the Mona Lisa, as the French couple empty his souvenir bag on him (Fig. 4.2). Carol, in turn, is shown defeated from the first shot, trying to overcome jet lag in an uncharacteristic and cold hotel room. She is further depicted as a naïve and ignorant tourist, not only through the music that

accompanies the segment, but also as she claims it is Simon Bolívar rather than Simone de Beauvoir who is buried next to Jean-Paul Sartre in the Cemetery of Montparnasse.

Fig. 4.2 Defeated tourists in *Paris je t'aime* I: Steve Buscemi in the Coen Brothers' segment

Fig. 4.3 Defeated tourists in *Paris je t'aime* II: Carol eating "globally"

Paradoxically, while these films seem to appeal to those interested in visiting the places they depict, by criticising the figure of the tourist, they stress the existence of a(nother) city that goes beyond clichés. Unlike the tourist represented on screen, the knowing viewer understands the joke surrounding the confusion between Bolívar and Beauvoir reflecting on his knowledge of "authentic" Paris and Parisian culture.

In their demeaning tones, both sequences illustrate Dean MacCannell's claim that "it is intellectually chic nowadays to deride tourists".[26] As he goes on to suggest, from this perspective, "the touristic experience that comes out of the tourist setting is based on inauthenticity and as such it is superficial when compared with careful study. It is morally inferior to mere experience."[27] Hence, although Carol in *Paris je t'aime* tries to experience "true" local culture, when she speaks French, people reply in English; and when she asks for restaurant tips, she ends up eating burgers and Chinese food (Fig. 4.3). Similarly, in *2 Days in Paris*, Jack's first image of the city ("oh, look at the light! It's like a postcard of Paris!", he exclaims) is mediated through a taxi window, since he refuses to take the metro or a bus as he is afraid of terrorist attacks.

To a certain extent, this ridiculing view of the tourist is nuanced in *2 Days in Paris,* as, early on in the film, Jack gives wrong directions to an American excursion group, suggesting his interest in the city is superior to those visiting only to see the Louvre. Jack thus seems to be engaging in what Urry has called the "romantic" tourist gaze, ever growing in contemporary tourism and through which "more and more people wish to isolate themselves from the existing patterns of mass tourism"[28]. The dichotomy between real and authentic thus finds a parallel in that of the citizen vs. the tourist, but also in the opposition between high and low forms of culture.

Both films nevertheless highlight the importance of the tourist for Paris and for European cities more generally, confirming their dimension as popular travel destinations. As such, they present comprehensive pictures of the behaviour of the tourist in Europe, and of what people do when visiting, including, as suggested by Steiner, walking (through narrow streets in *2 Days in Paris*, through sunny courtyards and parks in *Paris je t'aime*), eating (exotically, in *2 Days in Paris*, as in

the scene with the rabbit, but also "globally", as in Carol's meals) and going to museums such as the Louvre.

They further highlight an association of Paris, and Europe more generally, with romance[29] (as all characters find love in/for the city), at the same time denoting an ideal, and thus literally romantic, perception of Europe characterised by its intellectual life and the importance of art. Having established the notion of cinematic postcard, in the next section I expand on this latter aspect by looking at how monuments and works of art are depicted on screen. Beyond tourism and romance, my analysis examines the extent to which the idea of art is used as a means of promoting European cities, London and Barcelona in particular.

European cities and their art (cinema)

Although not filmed as often as Paris, London is the setting of a number of contemporary European films, including, amongst those listed as MEDIA films, *Happy-go-lucky, Irina Palm* and *Match Point*. The latter film, directed by Woody Allen, is centred on Chris (Jonathan Rhys Meyers), a tennis instructor who, working in an upmarket club in London, becomes engaged to Chloe (Emily Mortimer), the sister of one of his clients. The film was watched by 7 million spectators in Europe (although not so much in the UK, but mostly in France, Spain and Italy) and won awards in Spain (Goya) and Italy (David Donatello) as the 2006 Best European Film (a curious award given the filmmaker's nationality). It was also well received after a screening in Cannes, but although for Allen, "it turned out to be the best film I've ever made"[30], British critics were not as receptive.

The negative reception of *Match Point* in the UK has been due mostly as a reaction to the "touristic" depiction of London – as noted, for instance, in *Sight and*

Sound[31]. London is mentioned in the film at different moments, but especially in its initial sequences. *Match Point*'s first iconic image of London, the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, is followed by shots of the Saatchi Gallery, the London Eye, the Thames and the Houses of Parliament – what Charlotte Brunsdon has called, in her book on London in the cinema, a "landmark iconography […] historically formed"[32]. But while British critics condemned this – in ther view – clichéd outlook, an article in *Positif* argues that such stereotypes might work as research tools, as they organise the viewer's experience.[33] *Match Point* might be using these landmarks to orientate the spectator, but they also contribute to a particular view of the city.

The first time the city is mentioned in the dialogue is as "expensive" London. Indeed, one of the key themes in the film is the class system – a theme that, as the narrative evolves, stresses the opposition between different groups of characters. Chris and Nola (Scarlett Johansson), an aspiring actress, are in deep contrast with "posh London", that of Chloe and her family, of truffles and caviar (which Chris refuses in a restaurant, instead ordering roast chicken). This distinction is also made visually, as the private spaces they inhabit are utterly different (from Chris and Chloe's new flat on the Embankment, with a stunning view of the Thames, to Nola's new flat which has mice).

Although not exactly tourists, in *Match Point*, Chris and Nola are the outsiders. Constantly referred to as the "Irish" and the "American", they are respectively an underpaid tennis instructor (and then a junior financial investor) and a struggling actress, thus explicitly positioned outside the British upper class stratum. Mazierska and Rascaroli have noted that

> What is striking in the whole history of London cinema is how rarely it is depicted as a city of strollers, as opposed to other European metropolises […]. We rarely see people in films walking the streets of London and when they do, it usually ends badly for them.[34]

In contrast with other characters in the film, who are mostly seen in their cars or not travelling at all, Chris and Nola meet on the street, as they are shopping, and then walk together through Chelsea; they are free from spatial and social restrictions. Indeed, Chris' affair almost becomes public when someone spots him walking in London, rather than being driven in a car, like the remaining characters. At the same time, the fact that the film ends up badly for Chris and Nola also contributes to the class distinction stressed throughout. Unlike the reflective *flâneur* mentioned by Steiner, these two particular characters do not experience the city, but use it; London, for these characters, is mostly a space that fulfils particular functions, especially career development.

In the travel section of *The New York Times*, an article entitled 'The London of "Match Point"' comments on the impact of this film for a cinematic vision of the city, listing a number of its locations and proposing a film-related tour around the British capital.[35] *Match Point* thus also shows that while cinematic postcards are generally dismissed by certain critics – particularly those writing for cinephile publications such as *Sight and Sound* and *Cahiers du Cinéma* – they contribute to the promotion of cities and of Europe more generally, as argued in relation to the heritage genre.

"Movie maps" for London visitors are available online, related to films such as *Closer*, *Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason*, *Love Actually* and *Match Point* (Fig. 4.4). Les Roberts has discussed the impact of these maps in a number of cities around

the world, arguing they demonstrate "the increasingly co-extensive and economically contingent geographies of tourism and film, as well as the growing interpenetration of the two industries in the way film locations are being promoted and consumed as sites of spectacle and attraction."[36]

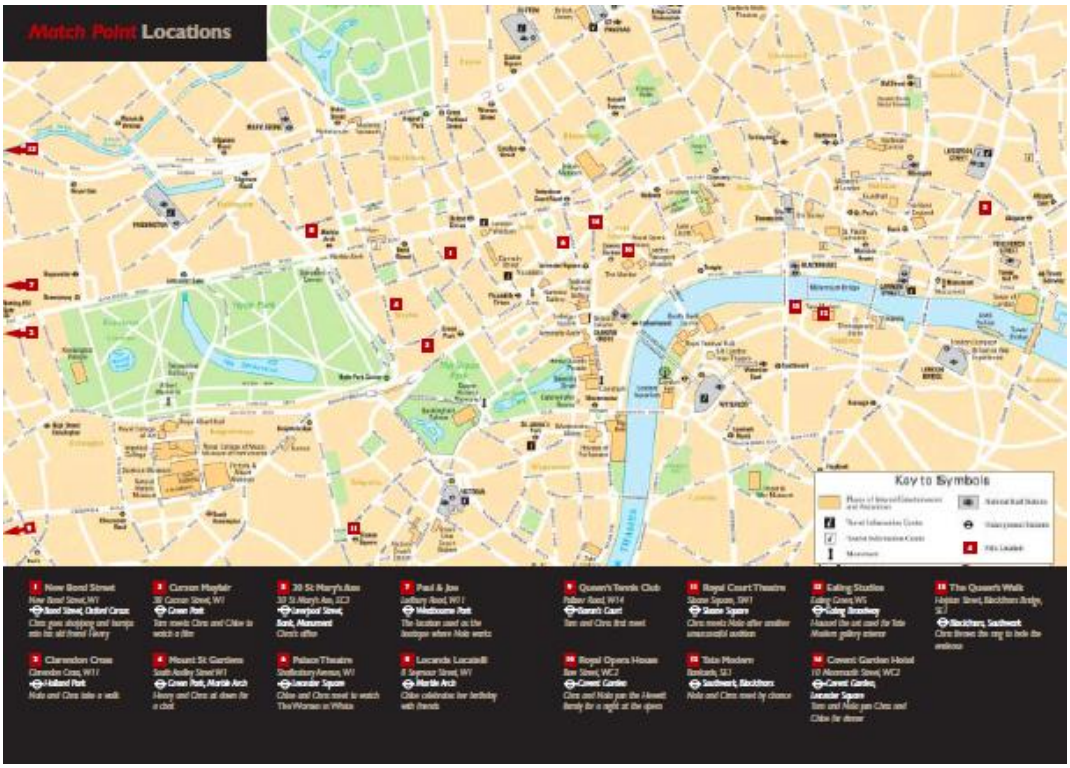

Fig. 4.4 London map highlighting the locations of *Match Point*

The idea of attraction is central to the argument I have been developing so far about the interconnections of cinema, tourism and an international promotion of Europe. In this sense, the postcard becomes not so much a souvenir for someone who has visited a given space, but more a teaser for those who will potentially travel (consistent with Urry's concept of anticipation[37]), at the same time as films such as the ones analysed so far work as previews of Europe. Simultaneously, there is in movie maps, as in the films they refer to, a sense of spectacle, as suggested by Roberts – and, by consequence, a particular preview of Europe. The glossy

dimension of the postcard is combined with a glamorous view of cinema, not only in terms of the cities represented, but also the films alluded to, and particularly, conveyed through the figure of the star director (in this case, Allen). The status of Woody Allen as a recognised *auteur* thus confirms European cinema's ties to notions of quality and prestige – even if he is not a European director (it should be noted here, however, that Allen's "intellectual" image, as well as his longstanding critical recognition in Europe, go some way towards explaining his easy association with the continent).

Similarly, an article published in the Spanish daily *ABC*, 'Barcelona según el cine' [Barcelona according to the cinema], discusses a new service offered by the city council.[38] A web page lists a series of locations featured in contemporary films, launching new touristic routes. Although never a European capital of culture, Barcelona was given international attention as the host of the 1992 Olympic Games. It is now one of the most visited cities in Europe, being promoted through its Mediterranean heritage, art nouveau architecture (especially in relation to the work of Gaudí) and as a centre for Catalan culture. While a general view of cities is marketed internationally through initiatives such as the one launched by the Barcelona council, cinematic representations of cities contribute to a commodification of the urban space, which becomes a modular product that can be itemised for tourist consumption.

In addition to *Perfume, Salvador, Pot Luck* and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona,* one of the films included in the list on the council's webpage is *All About My Mother.* Despite Almodóvar's connection to Madrid, within this corpus, the city's landmarks are more visible in a film like *Caótica Ana/Chaotic Ana* (by Julio Medem). While *All About My Mother* actually begins in Madrid, there are no recognisable images of the

Spanish capital, and for the most part, the action takes place indoors. By contrast, Barcelona is introduced by a spectacular aerial view of the city. Ismaël Lô's "Tajabone" song begins as a soft guitar while Manuela (Cecilia Roth) is on a train. As the harmonica is played and the music's intensity increases, a helicopter shot shows Barcelona at night, seen from mount Tibidabo. In the following shot, a taxi drives through the Monument to Colón; the film then cuts to Manuela looking at one of the key landmarks of the city, the Sagrada Família Cathedral, from the taxi window. The music is moving and nostalgic, appropriate for someone returning to a place dear to them after a long absence; in this sequence, Almodóvar invests the city with a strong emotional charge. Other iconic places in Barcelona are mentioned throughout the film, including la Barceloneta, the run-down neighbourhood of Raval (where many art-nouveau buildings can be found), the imposing Plaza del Duc de Medinaceli, the cemetery of Montjuic and a number of theatres.

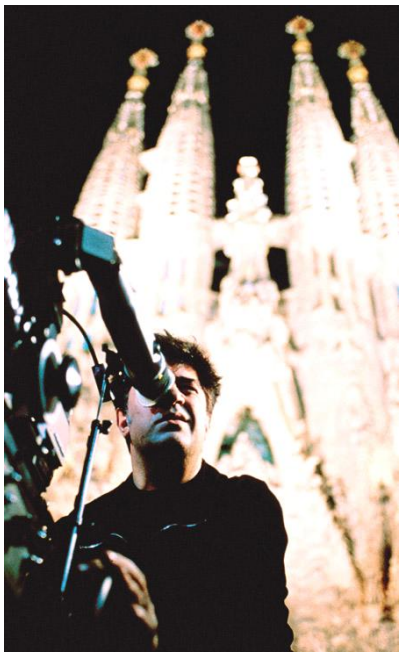

Fig. 4.5 Pedro Almodóvar filming by the Sagrada Família

All About My Mother was successful both with critics and audiences. It was seen by almost 2 million spectators in France, 2 million in Spain, and a total of 7 million in Europe, and was awarded an Oscar, a BAFTA, a Golden Globe and a César as Best Foreign Film. Almodóvar won the prize for Best Director at the Cannes Film Festival, and *All About My Mother* a European Film Award in 1999 for Best Film. In a short article entitled 'The power of Pedro', a critic for *Sight and Sound* remarks on the popularity of recent works by the Spanish filmmaker.[39] The promotion of Barcelona as a cinematic city is thus tied to an idea of quality, through the identification with one of the key European *auteurs*: Pedro Almodóvar (Fig. 4.5).

Of course, like postcards, these films' representation of London and Barcelona, respectively, is selective. While Almodóvar leaves aside the political status of the Catalan capital, Allen represents an exclusively traditional London. In any case, the representation of key landmarks on screen allows for admiration, and for visual pleasure in looking at such impressive monuments. Furthermore, the postcards created in *All About My Mother* and *Match Point* give these cities an artistic aura. This is achieved through careful cinematography and emotional music, particularly in the shot of the Sagrada Família which opens Almodóvar's view of Barcelona, but also through the names of the filmmakers who have directed them. These two films highlight the importance of *auteurs* not only for European cinema but also for European cities. Barcelona's architecture and London's wealthy and artistic circuits (the tennis club, the opera, museums) contribute to the creation of an image of a cultural Europe – echoing the EU's European Capital of Culture programme – but the imagined city is attributed a special meaning because of a prestigious *auteur*'s view.

So far, I have analysed what I call cinematic postcards in relation to tourism

and to a particular (romantic and artistic) view of Europe. The partiality of such representations, as well as their authenticity in relation to a supposedly "real" city have been recurring themes throughout. Allen and Almodóvar emerge as "qualified" tourists (Allen more obviously, but Almodóvar also because he is more readily associated with Madrid than Barcelona), with their views praised, rather than ridiculed as in the previous section (although they are just as selective).

The next section begins with a discussion of *Pot Luck*, focusing on the Erasmus student, a figure half way between the tourist and the citizen, but also an idiosyncratic kind of traveller within Europe. As such, the film stresses the importance of mobility within contemporary Europe, already hinting at other, simultaneous forms of travelling and the discourses that surround them, beyond tourism. *Pot Luck* further departs from a focus on individual cities (as travel destinations, tourist attractions, romantic and artistic places) to a more general consideration of the "European city" as a universal and cosmopolitan space.

Cosmopolitanism and universality in European cities

Pot Luck, directed by Cédric Klapisch, tells the story of Xavier (Romain Duris), a young student from Paris. Because of "new European directives", Xavier moves to Barcelona, to do a graduate degree in Spanish economy, so he can easily get a job in the French Ministry. He leaves as an exchange student, part of the Erasmus programme and, once in Barcelona, finds a room in a shared flat with young people from Spain, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Denmark and the UK.

A European Commission initiative, Erasmus was launched in 1987 and has funded more than 2 million exchange students all over Europe. Hoping to "give students a better sense of what it means to be a European citizen"[40], the programme

is aimed at youngsters who will, in their majority, like Xavier, meet people from all corners of Europe. It is also associated with a particular form of travelling, with airlines such as the Portuguese TAP launching special promotions, encouraging participants to fly with the company and take extra luggage for free[41].

Pot Luck was watched by almost 3 million spectators in France. The film's popularity as an "Erasmus film" has been accompanied by discussions of its stereotypical representation of national cultures, but also of the cities where it is set, Paris and Barcelona.[42] As in his more recent film *Paris*, Klapisch's *Pot Luck* begins with a "postcard" image of the French capital. When Xavier meets his father's friend to discuss his future, he shows him the view from his office, pointing at the Sacré-Coeur and the Eiffel Tower. While these icons stress the centrality of this office, they also clearly present a stereotypical view of Paris – a perspective also adopted later on to represent foreign cultures. When asked if he knows Spain, Xavier replies he has been to Ibiza (a common touristic destination) and "*habla un poquito español*". However, after landing in Barcelona, he reacts angrily to the efforts of a French couple that try to tell him about the city – which he hopes to discover on his own. Also adopting a romantic gaze as theorised by Urry, Xavier thus illustrates MacCannell's claim that "[t]he touristic way of getting in with the natives is to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, perceptions and insights".[43]

As Xavier gets to the city centre, the camera is more focused on him than on Barcelona. A medium close-up of Xavier stresses the importance, for this film, of his perspective – matched by the voice over, which reflects on the experience of arriving in an unknown city, when everything is new and nothing makes sense. Dialogue also contributes to this view of Xavier as an outsider. When he has to leave the flat of his mother's friend, where he had planned to stay during his first week in Barcelona,

Xavier calls Jean-Michel (Xavier de Guillebon), the French man he met at the airport. On the street, a group of kids imitate the sounds he makes (speaking French) and follow him around, saying: "*vete a tu país*" ("go home to your country"). When he receives Xavier, Jean-Michel notes how "we French have to help each other".

As an outsider, Xavier's knowledge of Barcelona is limited to some of the iconic landmarks of the city – Parc Güell, the Sagrada Família and Mare Magnum. Elizabeth Ezra and Antonio Sánchez have noted how "Xavier appears determined not to limit his engagement with the city of Barcelona to that of a mere tourist."[44] Throughout *Pot Luck*, Xavier's relationship with the city remains dual: he is "in" (knows the names of some places, recognises routes and buildings) but is also "out" (for instance, clearly still thinking of home, when he asks, at the beach in Sitges, pointing at the sea: "*C'est où la France? Par la?*"). In spatial terms, the film thus oscillates between a defence of authenticity (wanting to know the "real" Barcelona) and the perpetuation of stereotypes (including in his "to see before leaving list" places such as Montjuic).

Xavier's temporary condition in Barcelona increases this tension between a superficial and a true knowledge of the city. By the end of the film, he is no longer a tourist (unlike the brother of the British young woman who comes to visit), but a citizen, albeit from a different origin. His nationality, like his class, strongly contributes to his integration, in contrast with an increasing number of migrants in Europe, as will be discussed later on. Back home, Xavier explores his status as both a local and a tourist, going to a street "where Parisians never go" (in Montmartre, a reference to *Amélie* – Audrey Tautou also featuring in a sub-plot in *Pot Luck*) and meeting other Erasmus students. Lost in spaces and cultures that only partially belong to him, Xavier concludes "I am not me, but everyone" – referring to his

flatmates from Barcelona. Space and identity (a topic previously approached in the film in a discussion between students from different nationalities, and that illustrates Europe's "café culture") conflate in this scene to literally make a point about the unity of Europe as a synthesis of different cultures. Paris, like Barcelona (and potentially the other cities where the remaining characters live), is shown to be truly cosmopolitan, allowing those who inhabit them to feel connected through shared values.

Following the success of *Pot Luck*, the sequel *Les Poupées Russes/Russian Dolls* was released three years later. With most of the same characters and still centred on Xavier, *Russian Dolls* was however less successful. Cécile de France won another César for her performance as Isabelle, but critics dismissed the film, invoking problems with its narrative.[45] *Russian Dolls* refers to *Pot Luck* from the very first scene, with a close-up of each of the main characters waiting to cross the road. The film then cuts to a long shot of the whole group when Xavier mentions "St Petersburg", situating us geographically – with space being, once more, a key element of the narrative.

Despite this early image of Russia, like *Pot Luck*, *Russian Dolls* also begins in Paris. Alluding to Xavier's interview in the previous film, a panoramic shot (including in its sights the Eiffel Tower and the river) clearly situates the sequel in the French capital. The camera zooms in on a modern building to the sound of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Prelude to Te Deum*, the Eurovision Song Context theme that was associated with the EU in *Pot Luck*. This time, Xavier is at the headquarters of TV France, applying for a job as a soap opera writer. The broad topic of the show is "love", a theme the producer believes will have a strong commercial potential since, as he concludes, "we all love postcards".

As it negotiates notions of authenticity, *Russian Dolls* also explores the dichotomy of the local vs. the global. The first part of the film is set in the French capital and locations include residential flats, shops and cafés – spaces which are relatively "familiar" and fit within a "neighbourhood" view of Paris. By contrast, Martine (Audrey Tautou) tells Xavier about the Social Forum of Porto Alegre in Brazil and how "it really makes you feel connected to the planet". Meanwhile, in the background, the camera shows a map of France, next to a Chinese poster on her kitchen wall.

Multiple levels are constructed visually, either through split screens or through longer, more complex shots. In a later sequence, as Xavier storms out of Martine's flat, he answers the phone, on the street. The camera zooms in, going past his phone and towards her balcony, to show them both in the same shot. This strategy is repeated later on, with Celia (a model whose biography Xavier is hired to ghost write) and suggests not only that reality is split into different levels, but also that they are connected through communication devices. On the one hand, Paris is presented as a global city as theorised by Saskia Sassen[46], as economic transformations caused by globalisation are alluded to in the film. On the other, a reflection on the implications of this fact is conspicuously absent, particularly in terms of class and race.

To add to this tension between the local, the national and the global, the European dimension contributes to the transnational feel of *Russian Dolls*. An hour into the film, Xavier returns to TV France, where he is told that, through a European programme entitled Eurosat 2000, the show he has been working on will be start to be co-produced with BBC 2. As Xavier claims he can speak English, the film cuts to a dialogue in English and then to a shot of the Gare du Nord in Paris. William (Kevin

Bishop) is the first "foreign" character to be introduced (in the sense of a tourist, not an expatriate, as is the case for Isabelle, a Belgian national living in France) and he is, as he was in *Pot Luck*, a character full of clichés. Hence, as he leaves the train station, William shouts "*Bonjour Paris!*" (another cinematic reference, this time to *Funny Face*) and "*Je veux des escargots et du vin rouge!*". At the same time, William also brings into the film's narrative (so far, entirely set in Paris) images of other countries, including the Royal Albert Hall in London and a canal in St. Petersburg, thus highlighting the ideas of movement, travelling and flux, that are central for the definition of globalised Europe.

The European dimension accelerates the pace of the narrative. After Xavier returns to TV France and he is told he can go to London, the film cuts to a shot of Waterloo Station, where Wendy (Kelly Reilly) is waiting for him. The film's view of London (as that of Paris) alternates between the landmark and the universal city – between red buses, Piccadilly, Oxford St (local), to references to English breakfast (national) and a Pakistani deli (global). After London, Xavier, Wendy and the remaining characters that figured also in *Pot Luck* go to St. Petersburg, to attend William's wedding.

For Sylvie Blum-Reid, "St-Petersburg is the European city by excellence in its architectural design, a combination of the old Europe and the modern one."[47] While Russia's belonging to Europe is debatable[48], Blum-Reid examines Klapisch's Europeanist impulses and places the film within the context of the European integration process. Noting the director initially wanted to locate part of the film in Turkey, she claims:

> *Les Poupées Russes* (2005) opened after the referendum on the European constitution was massively turned down in France in June 2005. However, the

> film programmatically addresses the need to spread a larger Europe as far east as Russia, expanding both East and South, with the question of Turkey's inclusion hanging high in the balance and the object of many debates.[49]

While the film expands the traditional view of Europe, it does so by highlighting the similarities between Paris, London and St. Petersburg. As in *Pot Luck*, parallelisms are drawn between different cities – in this case, also visually, as *Russian Dolls* cuts from William waiting by the canal in St. Petersburg (Fig. 4.6) to William and Xavier walking by the canal in Paris (Fig. 4.7). Hence, in St. Petersburg, Xavier and Wendy behave just like in Paris and London. William is now the "guide", pointing to squares, buildings and the river as they ride the tram (just as Wendy had done in London, from a double-decker). Public means of transport, like bars and discos (or pubs, in the British inflection) are common to Paris, London and St. Petersburg, as are international train stations (Figs. 4.8 and 4.9). In all the cities portrayed in the film, characters are not only interconnected, there is also always the possibility of meeting someone. Xavier had met Wendy in Paris; Celia and Xavier happen to be in Russia at the same time; Celia then meets some friends in Moscow.

Such parallelisms seem to confirm Mazierska and Rascaroli's claim that, "as a consequence of both its fragmentation and its cosmopolitanism, the city partly loses its individual identity, and looks more and more like any other city in the world – or, at least, in Europe."[50] But although the film draws comparisons between these cities, it positions them as global rather than as European – the latter aspect being developed exclusively through plot, as a sequel to an "Erasmus" film, through the French and British co-produced TV show and William's wedding. At the same time, the fact that Paris, London and St. Petersburg are presented not simpy as transnational, but also as European, suggests cosmopolitanism is a particular feature

of Europe. Hinted at towards the end of *Pot Luck*, cosmopolitanism is in fact recovered in *Russian Dolls*, when all characters make a toast, in different languages, and wish their best to the newly weds.




Figs. 4.6- 4.9 Similarities between European cities in *Russian Dolls*

Reacting to the widespread use of the term "transnational", Tim Bergfelder also prefers to use the term "cosmopolitanism" – for instance, in his discussion of Fatih Akın, whose films are explored in the following section.[51] For Chris Rumford, cosmopolitanism compels scholars to rethink "the relation between Europe and globalisation", at the same time as it "gives [priority] to social transformation as the context for understanding contemporary Europe."[52] The cities depicted in the films discussed so far become European but also universal, just as European citizens are part of a globalised world. As Stephanie H. Donald, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin have argued, cosmopolitanism can also be seen, on the one hand, as "a process of the human imagination, that is an affective disposition that inflects social and political relationships" and, on the other, a wishful thought, that dreams of a better

world.[53] Films such as *Pot Luck* and *Russian Dolls* insist not only on commonality, but also on the highly positive features of this feeling and its political contours, and thus may be seen as "wishful thinking". The idea of "Europeanness as universality" developed in Chapter 3 resurfaces in my analysis of cinema and the city in Europe, particularly in the films directed by Klapisch, a true supporter of the European integration process as noted by Blum-Reid.

From the perspective of Klapish's films, cosmopolitanism is presented as something to pursue, rather than to question. However, as Bergfelder also argues, cosmopolitanism can be problematic if understood as a totalising universalism[54]. *Pot Luck*, like *Russian Dolls*, ignores not only those outside Europe's borders, but also those who, living within "Fortress Europe", face, unlike middle-class Xavier and his fellow Erasmus students, the power of exclusion. In this vein, Vincendeau has noted how the Gare du Nord in Paris is often figured in contemporary cinema (including in *Russian Dolls*) as a postmodern space, "as an aesthetically pleasing décor rather than for its sociological density".[55] Tourism and cosmopolitanism, rather than being in opposition, become part of the same phenomenon that allows a number of global citizens (but not all) to travel freely, mostly without hindrance from linguistic or political barriers.

The European traveler, because of his or her cosmopolitan status, becomes the "right kind" of tourist – even when he is, like Xavier, more than a visitor. The cosmopolitan view of Europe put forward by these films thus denotes a real but partial reflection of the continent. In addition to picturing key landmarks, Klapisch's presentation of people from different countries happily living together is in itself a postcard; it is a snapshot, a glossy and optimistic view, but one that needs examining. In the next section, I revisit a film mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, *Paris*

(also directed by Klapisch), to discuss the other side of the European global city.

Old European cities, new global cities?

Paris marks the return of Cédric Klapisch to his city after the European co-productions analysed before. Less successful than his two previous films, it was nevertheless seen by 1.7 million spectators in France. The film follows different characters, interrelating a number of stories set in the French capital. Its main narrative is focused on Pierre (Romain Duris), a dancer who is diagnosed with a serious health condition and, waiting at home for a heart transplant, spends his days looking down at the Parisian streets from his balcony.

The city emerges as a space of dualities, from the market Pierre's sister Élise (Juliette Binoche) visits on a weekly basis (invested with the meanings of happiness and the local) to the immigrants she interviews at work (signifying anguish and the global). A sense of struggle connects the different characters, showing Paris as a globalised metropolis, where the inequalities of contemporary society come into view. Placed in opposition to old Paris (a theme explored self-reflexively, through a TV show on the French capital), the city is characterised by various discourses, tourism and cultural diversity in particular. Montmartre (where a couple sits drinking champagne, claiming "let's do like dumb tourists") is thus in deep contrast with the "real", multicultural city, including a bakery owner's comments on an "Arab" girl who applies for a job in her shop.

While some segments in *Paris je t'aime* focused on cultural diversity within the French capital (from a sequence on religion and the integration of Muslim culture to a Latin American immigrant who leaves her own child to work as a nanny in an affluent neighbourhood), *Paris* makes a further detour through Africa, telling the

journey of an illegal immigrant (significantly unnamed) from Cameroon to Paris. The film shows him working at a holiday resort in Africa and wearing a French national team football t-shirt with Zidane's name, later editing a shot of a luxurious setting in Paris with the back of a truck on its way to Europe. Baroque music links the two shots, but whereas gold defines the first one, the latter is dire and poor.

Towards the end of the film, in a taxi on his way to the hospital, Pierre reflects on the traffic disruptions caused by demonstrations and concludes: "that's Paris, no one's happy". His comment hints at a darker side of cosmopolitanism (absent from *Pot Luck* and *Russian Dolls*), where disparity, rather than commonality, defines the relationships between characters of different ethnic and racial backgrounds (the immigrant is an employee for French holiday makers in Africa) and citizens are not all alike, or even all citizens. Curiously, the film ends with the Cameroonian standing on a bridge across from Notre Dame, comparing the real cathedral with its picture in a postcard he had been sent. As this sequence literally shows, in addition to using culture as a selling point, postcards, and by consequence, cinematic postcards such as the ones found in *Paris*, contribute to the debate on globalisation and Europeanisation that has characterised the study of cinema and the city. While the plot line of the Cameroonian adds migration to the trajectories of tourism and cosmopolitanism discussed so far, it also superimposes them, suggesting they overlap and are equally crucial for an understanding of global European cities.

By hinting at the historical nature of European cities but also at their postcolonial status, as well as encapsulating both positive and negative readings of the European city, *Paris* is also useful as a transition between this chapter's two main sections. From the cinematic postcards of Paris, London and Barcelona, my analysis moved to an examination of European cities as globalised metropolises and thus to

some of the crucial problems for Europe today, immigration in particular. The next section investigates the cinematic representation of this and other emergent social issues.

4.2 Urban dystopias and "state-of-the-nation" films

In the second half of this chapter, I look at films that explicitly represent social problems, most of them "today perceived as urban problems" as noted by Bagnasco and Le Galès[56]. These include domestic violence (*Te doy mis ojos/Take My Eyes*), unemployment (*Mondays in the Sun*), crime (*Gomorrah*) and ageing (*Pranzo di Ferragosto/Mid-August Lunch*), but my focus is primarily on the matter of Europe's borders. I look at "state-of-the-nation" films (following John Hill's taxonomy for 1980s British cinema[57]), particularly in terms of the implications the issues represented on screen carry for the European city and Europe's society more generally. Whereas most films analysed before took place in the city centre, those considered here are set at the margins, geographically and/or metaphorically, of large European cities.

As such, this section is also centred on urban dystopias. One way in which the city is often disparaged is by comparison with the countryside, seen as peaceful and pure. Although not new, this view is explored in a number of contemporary films, including *Volver, Le Fils de l'épicier/The Grocer's Son, Så som i himmelen/As it is in heaven* and *Dot.com*. In *Volver*, for instance, the *pueblo* (village) is presented as the space of customs and traditions, being directly opposed to excentric Madrid. Similarly, in *The Grocer's Son*, going to the countryside is seen as a way of returning to one's origins. "Urban" customs (for instance, being rude and not being on time) are opposed to the simple pleasures of life, such as helping the elderly or falling in

love. While my examination is also concerned with a negative view of the city, it is not, however, a comparative study (opposing the city to the country); rather it looks at films entirely set in urban spaces.

My analysis begins with a discussion of surveillance. After focusing on the inner boundaries of cities like Glasgow and Paris, I examine multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue. Hence, I also look at the cultural implications of social issues, characterising Europe through references to religion and language. The importance of language in European cinema is analysed both in relation to the films' themes and *mise-en-scène* and to the terminology used in academic writing and film criticism. The chapter finishes with a discussion of "Fortress Europe", looking at immigration and ethnic minorities.

Under surveillance: Glasgow and Paris as divided cities

A significant number of contemporary European films deal with the topic of surveillance. These include *La Zona* (set in Mexico City), *Red Road* (Glasgow) and *Caché/Hidden* (Paris). Rising interest on this theme highlights changes in the regulation of international security. A component of policies on terrorism and immigration (which I return to towards the end of this chapter), surveillance is also depicted in these films as an utterly urban issue. Its presence hints at a negative view of the city, perceived as unsafe and in need of monitoring, while surveillance itself mobilises impulses often viewed negatively, such as voyeurism.

In *Red Road*, Andrea Arnold's first feature film, Jackie (Kate Dickie) is a closed-circuit television (CCTV) operator. In one of her shifts, she recognises a man she had not seen for a long time. Clyde (Tony Curran) has just been released from jail, having killed, as we later find out, Jackie's husband and daughter in a car

accident. After identifying him, Jackie starts spying on him, using the CCTV system at work. She finds out where he lives and decides to approach him.

The film is set in Glasgow, a city that, as Stefano Baschiera and Laura Rascaroli note, has an important tradition of cinematic representation.[58] Elizabeth Lebas has extensively documented the work of the Glasgow Film Corporation in offering, for the most part of the 20th century, a view of the city focused on "radical social policies of national reconstruction, particularly those promoting public health, public housing and public education"[59]. To some extent, as a "social realist" film[60], *Red Road* seems to be built on a pre-determined vision of Glasgow that reflects the difficult and problematic image put forward by these early documentaries, but also by subsequent fiction films. Like Liverpool and Manchester, Glasgow faced a major decline after the Second World War and became a post-industrial city. While the Glasgow Film Corporation documentaries addressed mostly the problems of the earlier forms of poverty created by industrialisation (and the attempts at civic solutions), in the post-war, post-industrial, era the city and its neighbouring towns became the perfect location for stories of an impoverished working class and its decaying houses – featured, for instance, in films such as Ken Loach's *Sweet Sixteen*.

More recently, however, a new view of the Scottish city has emerged. As acknowledged in a report on the 1990 European Capital of Culture:

> Glasgow is a city of contrasts – European City of Culture 1990, Commonwealth Games City 2014 and UNESCO City of Music, second most popular shopping city in the UK and an important tourist destination. Yet 72% of Scotland's deprived communities live within the city boundaries.[61]

Despite the shocking statistics, the report, which was compiled by the Glasgow

Development Agency, naturally ends on a positive note. As they argue, "[f]rom a declining industrial centre with widespread pessimism about its future, Glasgow has been transformed into a forward thinking city with a population of 600.000 and is currently one of the 'hippest' spots in Europe."[62] This notion is consistent with the "Glasgow, Scotland with style" brand launched by the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau in 2004. In view of such contrasts, *Red Road* becomes particularly interesting in spatial terms; it privileges the decaying, rather than the modern view of the city – developed later on in my analysis of *Ae fond kiss*, another European film released with MEDIA support.

Red Road is a British and Danish co-production and is part of Lars von Trier's "Advanced Party" project. Awarded a number of accolades, including a Jury Prize in Cannes, the film achieved considerable critical success – not matched however at the box-office; it was seen by 150.000 spectators only all over Europe. Although *Red Road* was co-funded by the Glasgow Film Office, it shows very little of the actual space of the city. Overall, the narrative feels claustrophobic, with the majority of scenes taking place indoors, in the CCTV room at work, in Jackie's flat or in her friend's car. Even when Jackie goes to a wedding, there is an abundance of close-ups, showing people's moods and reactions, rather than group actions or settings. These shots add to a number of extreme close-ups of her eyes – confirming the film is about seeing – and of course are unsurprising given the job performed by Jackie, who recognises Clyde by focusing on a particular face. The images played in the CCTV control room show buses, streets that are busy during the day and deserted at night, houses, shops and office buildings, but these could be located in any other city in the UK, or indeed in Europe. The only distinguishable space is in fact the most striking location of the film, which also gives it its title.

The Red Road flat complex (Fig. 4.10), formed of eight high-rise towers, was built in 1969. In the summer of 2012, one of the towers was imploded; the remaining buildings are planned to be demolished in coming years. Most of the inhabitants of Red Road are immigrants who face ever-decaying living conditions. Known for high levels of crime, this is depicted as a dangerous and deprived area in the film, which Jackie assumes to be a conglomerate of "ex-prisoner flats".

Fig. 4.10 The Red Road flat complex in *Red Road*

We first see the blocks of flats through surveillance images; the buildings are so wide, and especially so tall, that Jackie needs to move the camera from side to side and up and down to see the entire estate. Despite these dimensions, the presentation of the Red Road estate feels claustrophobic. When Jackie first goes to Red Road, we see the towers from a bus window – a rigid frame that reinforces the enclosed nature of that space. Then, the film highlights their enormity, with a low angle showing Jackie looking up and the camera, then following her gaze, being unable to show the top floor or indeed the roof of each building.

The setting of *Red Road* is impressive also because it reflects a much wider reality, socially and cinematically. Andrew Burke has noted how "the image of the tower block silhouetted against the sky has become part of the basic vocabulary of

British cinema, most often invoked as visual signifier for the marginalised and menacing".[63] When Jackie first tries to enter one of the buildings, she is stopped by a concierge, who claims he is not allowed to disclose information on Clyde or any of the residents. By protecting the "marginalised" (i.e. the inhabitants of the estate) and inverting the notion of the "menacing" put forward by Burke (no longer Clyde, but, in this particular instance, Jackie), this scene suggests that, in addition to CCTV, the virtual border that first separates Jackie and the viewer from the "real" city, the tower blocks are a territory of their own, with clearly defined boundaries. Just as this space is noticeably made distant from the city centre, so do its inhabitants feel detached from the outside world. For instance, this feeling is highlighted in a scene when Clyde's friend opens the window from their high rise flat to look at the view and feel the wind. This prevents them from breathing or feeling closer to other locations outside the estate, pushing them back in, as the wind quite literally sweeps their faces.

Also featured in Arnold's subsequent feature *Fish Tank,* tower blocks appear in a number of other European films, such as the Italian *Gomorrah*. Another example of the European art cinema tradition, *Gomorrah* received the Grand Prix at the Cannes Film Festival in 2008. This shows not only that realism and social issues are a strong component of European art cinema – as argued by Ian Aitken[64] – but also that housing problems and urban sprawling are pan-European concerns.

Another film released with the support of MEDIA that similarly concentrates on urban space is *Hidden*. While *Red Road* adopted a particular view of the city in which it was set, privileging social rather than cultural stereotypes (or brandings) of Glasgow, *Hidden* stresses geographical, class and ethnic borders in a non-romanticised Paris. The film was awarded Best Director, the FIPRESCI and the

Ecumenical Jury prizes in the Cannes Film Festival and also won a number of European Film Awards, including Best Director for Michael Haneke, a Germany-born filmmaker raised in Austria and working in France. *Hidden* was produced with French, Austrian, German and Italian funding. Watched by 1.7 million spectators across Europe, *Hidden* has generated a vast number of reviews, articles and scholarly essays across Europe and beyond, including "The Caché dossier" published in the journal *Screen* in 2007.[65] Together with *Amélie*, it is probably one of the most widely discussed European films of the contemporary era – and it is therefore particularly interesting to note the overwhelmingly opposed views of Paris the two films present.

Hidden tells the story of an upper middle-class couple, Georges (Daniel Auteuil) and Anne (Juliette Binoche) who have an anonymous videotape containing images of their house delivered to their doorstep. After the first tape, a second one arrives, followed by postcards, delivered to Georges' office and to their son's school, as well as by unidentified phone calls. Developing as a thriller, the film then unravels a plot connected to the Algerian war, in particular the Paris massacre of 1961.

In addition to referring to a particular historical period, *Hidden* is also concerned with today's Paris, albeit in a much more negative (and supposedly realistic) way than a number of films analysed before – for instance, *2 Days in Paris*. Its narrative is divided between a quiet residential inner-city area (the *quartier des fleurs* in the 14th *arrondissement*) and the HLM (*habitation a loyer modéré* or council flats) of the North-East *banlieue* of Romainville, at a distance of more than 7km from the city centre.

Discussing the *banlieue-film,* Vincendeau remarks on how many of these films "stage visits to Paris, largely to make the contrast between city and *banlieue* more tangible"[66]. The opposite happens in *Hidden*, where it is Georges, the *bourgeois*

character, who is disturbed by someone outside the city and who travels to the deserted flats of Romainville. While obvious comparisons can be drawn between Georges' discreetly elegant house and the buildings in the *banlieue* (in terms of location, size and decoration), both habitats feel isolated from the outside. Whereas the flats of Romainville seem insecure (for Georges) because they are empty and under-lit, Georges and Anna's home, with its two doors, is very much protected. Surrounded by books, the *bourgeois* couple lives in the comfort of their house – but also of the swimming pool venue, the TV studio where Georges works or the stylish bookshop where Anna attends a reception – clearly separated from the outside world and the rest of the city. Similarly, in *Red Road*, Jackie's flat feels cosy but, while at work she is the one ensuring protection, in the estate she is more vulnerable – the tower blocks become, when she is not in her uniform, the "real world".

Ignoring the French capital's landmarks represented in the films analysed before, *Hidden* seems to depict, to use Susan Hayward's terms, a "real" Paris more that an "imagined" one.[67] The distinction between a real and an imagined city is too simplistic (the Eiffel Tower is just as real as the Parisian *banlieue*). Almost exclusively filmed in private places (Anna and Georges' residence, a flat in Romainville and the house in the countryside where Georges spent his childhood), the Paris of *Hidden* is a city that nevertheless, as Hayward has suggested in relation to other contemporary films, "refuses the erasure of history, of desire, of sexuality, of ethnicity, of race".[68] Boundaries are made visible (through plot and the construction of space) and these stress the inequalities that characterise the city.

By showing the darker sides of Glasgow and Paris, both films contribute to a dystopian vision of the metropolis in Europe. In *Hidden*, as in *Red Road*, surveillance is not presented as contributing to the security of the city's inhabitants; rather, it

endangers their lives: in the former, it brings back compromising memories of Georges' past, in the latter, it is used to convict Clyde of a crime he did not commit. CCTV footage is in itself a kind of border (in both cases, to the past), but is also highlights other boundaries within the city.

Against the glossy and glamorous representation of what I called cinematic postcards, *Hidden* presents two sides of Paris, just as *Red Road* shows a particular area of Glasgow, detached from everything else, except for a bus that runs during the day. Through these dichotomies, these films not only portray the physical settings of urban space, they also reflect the condition of the city inhabitants. *Red Road* is a film about the loss of family and the notion of justice but also of a compromised future: the Red Road flats are a decaying space where people seem lost, with no employment or future perspectives. Similarly, surveillance footage opens up a divide between a particular neighbourhood of Paris and the *banlieue*, between Georges' past and his present, as well as between France's past and present, as *Hidden* brings to the fore the deep wound of post-colonialism.

Whereas poverty is an issue for ever-expanding cities, the presence and arrival of citizens from former colonies has repercussions in many European countries. As these films highlight the differences that separate (in terms of space as well as class and ethnicity) the protagonists, the next section further explores the cultural borders of contemporary Europe.

Europe's cultural borders: multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue

As noted in a European Commission report on urban development, "the demographic change and migration challenge is one of the most important issues confronting European cities and regions today and in the future."[69] Consequences of this change

include over populated and ageing cities, as well as unregulated urban sprawl and housing problems, as hinted at in the previous section. But a shift in the global migration flux should also be considered; countries such as Spain, Greece and Portugal – traditionally emigration states – are now destinations from migrants from all over the world, including other parts of Europe.[70] Contemporary European cinema widely reflects this change, with "old immigration" being generally invisible; *Ganhar a Vida/Get a Life*, a film about the Portuguese community on the outskirts of Paris is a notable exception.

The European Commission report goes on to stress that "the population of non-EU residents in cities can be as high as 23% in France and 16% in Germany. The average non-national population in the EU Member States is about 5.5% of the total population."[71] In European cities such as Barcelona in *Pot Luck*, Xavier's life is presented as "multicultural" when he sits with colleagues from Spain, Belgium and Senegal. However, as Ella Shohat and Robert Stam suggest, it is important to distinguish between the multicultural fact (which points at the heterogeneity mentioned) and the multicultural project, one than aims to re-write "world history and contemporary social life from a decolonizing and antiracial perspective"[72].

Particular EU policies illustrate Shohat and Stam's notion of multiculturalism as a project and these have been strongly criticised for their Eurocentrism. One of the most significant initiatives launched by the EC in this area took place in 2008, denominated European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (EYID). As stated in the programme's official website:

> The enlargement of the European Union, deregulation of employment laws and globalisation have increased the multicultural character of many countries, adding to the number of languages, religions, ethnic and cultural backgrounds

> found on the continent. […] The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (EYID) 2008 recognises that Europe's great cultural diversity represents a unique advantage. It will encourage all those living in Europe to explore the benefits of our rich cultural heritage and opportunities to learn from different cultural traditions.[73]

The EU's view of multiculturalism suggests it is an increasingly visible phenomenon, at the same time as it highlights the intercultural nature of Europe's history. The quote above points to a utopian perspective through words such as advantage and opportunities; it is a good example of the Commission's positive attitude, which encourages dialogue, putting forward the notion of understanding as one of the keywords for a successful integration.

Such values, as well as a similar positive tone, are also explored in one of the many films supported by MEDIA that address the topic of multiculturalism, *Seres Queridos/Only Human*. The film tells the story of Leni (Marián Aguilera), who introduces her Palestinian boyfriend Rafi (Guillermo Toledo) to her Jewish family. A comedy, the film takes place in Madrid, in Spain, in the space of one evening and it follows a series of events that lead Leni to reveal the truth about Rafi's origins, narrating the chaos that unfolds. Seen by 300.000 spectators all over Europe, *Only Human* remains relatively unknown. A limited number of reviews have been published in English; although released in over 20 countries, the film was mostly shown outside commercial circuits, namely in the Jewish Film Festivals of London, Warsaw and Hong Kong.

Depicting a multicultural society, the film is also, as claimed by the producers, "a living testament to the triumph of cohabitation and people working together"[74] – which resonates with the EU's view of intercultural dialogue. But *Only Human* also criticises political strategies for multiculturalism, explicitly referring to the European

Commission in one particular scene. Finding Leni and Rafi's luggage in the building's hall, one of the neighbours rings their flat to complain. When Leni's younger brother opens the door and mechanically answers with a number of Sabbath rules (claiming for instance that he cannot carry the luggage back to their house as it is forbidden to work on the Jewish weekly day of rest), the neighbour dismisses his fundamentalist claims and replies: "to be part of this community, you must be normal". When he turns around, going down the stairs to his house, the camera focuses the yellow euro logo (€) on the back of his blue tracking suit (Fig. 4.11). Later on, when a shot is fired and accidentally hits the ceiling of his flat, the neighbour comes up the stairs reading the building's regulations out loud, thus parodying the EU's bureaucratic nature. Trying to achieve "normality" by "flattening" multiculturalism is a common criticism of EU policies (also voiced in relation to *Pot Luck*), seen as Eurocentric and homogeneous.[75]

Fig. 4.11 A neighbour defending the normality of his community in *Only Human*

In *Only Human*, despite Rafi having lived in Spain for 12 years and speaking perfect Spanish, he is portrayed as an outsider, this being based more on religion than on language or other cultural references. Rafi sounds Spanish, but there is still

something "strange" about him – especially his Islamic religion. However, the family of the Jewish Leni is also portrayed as "weird". In the film's initial sequences, we are introduced to Leni's sister, a nymphomaniac; her brother, a recently converted orthodox Jew; her 6-year old niece who believes she is pregnant; and her grandfather, a war veteran that loads and shoots a rifle even though he is blind. Because these characters are just as "different" as Rafi in terms of nationality and religion, the film moves from a stress on cultural borders to a depiction of humanism. All characters are shown to behave strangely, but this is what makes them equal, with diversity thus leading to a sense of universality. The film's international title, *Only Human*, hints at the importance of seeing people as individuals not defined by their race, class or religion – something not present in its original title, *Seres Queridos*, literally translated as "loved beings". Humanity replaces the idea of love, thus echoing the notion of cosmopolitanism, in the sense that the term suggests individuals from all over the world can be connected and empathise with each other and that, as Kwame Anthony Appiah has suggested, cosmopolitanism highlights "the recognition that human beings are different and that we can learn from each other's differences"[76].

Similarly, in *Ae fond kiss* we are presented with a cosmopolitan view of Glasgow, separated by religion but unified by love. The film tells the story of Casim (Atta Yaqub) and Roisin (Eva Birthistle), an entrepreneur of Pakistani origin and a music teacher at a Catholic school who fall in love and are faced with conservatism both from his family and her employers. The film is the fifth collaboration of director Ken Loach (one of the key figures in the social realist British cinematic tradition) with screenwriter Paul Laverty. Just as *Only Human* ominously preceded the 2004 Madrid train bombings (which saw many Arabs being discriminated against, like

Rafi is at key points in the film), Laverty has stated in interviews that *Ae fond kiss* originated from his reflection on 9/11 and the way Pakistani people were treated in the USA and the UK after these events.[77] Pakistani immigrants in the UK have been widely depicted on screen (for instance in Stephen Frears' 1985 film *My beautiful laundrette*), but the issue clearly has contemporary resonance. *Ae fond kiss* was watched by 1.4 million people all over Europe, won a Prize of the Ecumenical Jury in the Berlin Film Festival in 2004 and a César as Best European Union Film in the same year.

In conjunction with *My name is Joe* and *Sweet Sixteen*, *Ae fond kiss* has also been seen as part of Loach's Glaswegian trilogy.[78] I have hinted, in my analysis of *Red Road*, at the social strand of Glasgow's cinematic history. But as critics have suggested, including David Martin-Jones in his book on Scottish cinema, *Ae fond kiss* "goes out of its way to represent post-industrial Glasgow as a city of ethnic and cultural diversity, despite the problematic relations that can arise when immigrant traditions meet Western modernity"[79]. While it does not shy away from the problems that stem from religious and racial conflicts, *Ae fond kiss* presents Glasgow's ethnic diversity as, more than politically correct, almost trendy, in line with the previously mentioned "Scotland with style" brand. Characters often meet in elegant bars and clubs and both Roisin and Casim's friend live in modern, fashionable houses.

Unlike in *Red Road*, in *Ae fond kiss* the city's inner boundaries are not in evidence; while cultural borders are visible in the society more generally, the film does not construct an urban dystopia, as characters move freely all around town. Here mobility arises as a useful concept for the characterisation of Glasgow as an open metropolis – which is in contrast with the divided Glasgow discussed before. This tension between a city or an area of a city that is out of reach and one that is

welcoming mirrors the opposition between citizens and those who somehow see their rights limited, and can be seen as a defining contradiction of European urban space and Europe more generally.

The style of *Ae fond kiss*, particularly the use of sound, also contributes to a unified view of the city. This can be seen in relation to dialogue (especially in its initial sequence at school, when Casim's sister argues against the West's simplification of Muslims) and to language as in idiom (as Roisin and Casim use each other's language to show intimacy and demonstrate their knowledge of their respective cultures). Music also plays a significant part in the presentation of a unified cosmopolitan Glasgow. Diegetic music often carries on from a sequence where it is narratively motivated to others where it works as soundtrack, or begins as a backdrop then continues to a sequence that shows its on-screen source. For example, the Scottish folk song "Ae fond kiss" (by Robert Burns), interpreted by a student during Roisin's lesson, accompanies the first shot of Casim's house, thus linking for the first time the two lovers. Confirmation of their relationship also comes through music, as, after helping to move Roisin's grand piano to her flat, Casim listens to her playing, smiling, in love. As an element of the film's *mise-en-scène* that pervades and links sequences, music can be seen to symbolise their multi-ethnic union, as a universal language that allows the borders of their cultures to become more permeable.

Through a focus on religion, these films show the socio-temporal change that has occurred since the Europe portrayed, for instance, in *Merry Christmas* – a Europe that is no longer white and Christian (one of Europe's most debatable historical features as discussed in Chapter 1). The protagonists of *Only Human* and *Ae fond kiss* come from middle class backgrounds and try to address multi-cultural, multi-

lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-religious issues in an enlightened way, through discussion and dialogue. In *Only Human* words like "tolerance" are often spoken. In *Ae fond kiss* this is particularly visible in a scene in Spain, where Roisin and Casim enjoy a romantic break and, sitting in a café, ask each other what stories "they" have, comparing the Bible with the Koran. The couple are comfortable in their roles as cosmopolitan European citizens, who can easily travel outside the UK – just as Leni and Rafi are prepared to face centuries of cultural battles to build a new intercultural family. *Only Human* and *Ae fond kiss* stress similarity, rather than difference, even if they display stereotypical views of particular communities.

Dialogue and language as privileged means of understanding are also explored in *Entre les murs/The Class*, another film released with the support of MEDIA. The film narrates one year in the life of a teacher and his teenage students in a school in Belleville, a multi-ethnic Parisian neighbourhood. Popular with critics and audiences alike, it was watched by 1.5 million spectators in France and a total of 2 million people all over Europe. It won the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival in 2008 and was nominated for an Oscar as Best Foreign Film.

In addition to launching a public discussion about education in France and abroad, *The Class* also fuelled debates on inter-racial mix and integration. Although for an Italian critic, it reflects "all peripheral schools of big European cities"[80], as Vincendeau suggests, the film engages with the theme of Frenchness, asking what it means to be French today.[81] As such, it echoes former President Nicolas Sarkozy's project on this topic (launched in 2009), which involved the creation of a Ministry for Immigration and National Identity, met with strong political and popular opposition. However, unlike this initiative, *The Class* does not aim at an essentialist idea of French culture or even of multiculturalism, rather playing out contrasting

views of students from European, Asian and African backgrounds – for instance, in a scene where teenagers from Morocco and Mali discuss the football African Cup of Nations.

While a debate on football allows for a questioning of national cultures, the film's focus is on language, central for any policy on national identity, especially in France. It is thus no coincidence that the main character is a teacher of French language and literature, in addition to the fact that the actor who plays him, François Bégaudeau, is a former French teacher in a similar school, who wrote the book on which the film is based. More generally, school acts as a metaphor for the wider society.[82] On the one hand, *The Class* highlights the importance of *what* people say (thus exploring the value of discourse) – for instance, in relation to the meaning of words as the students challenge the precision of the teacher when instead of "one hour" he should have said "50 minutes". On the other, the film's dialogue hints at *how* people say what they say, in terms of connotations (as they discuss whether or not "homosexual" is an insult); the use of expressions and sayings (for instance, "the penny drops", used in the English subtitling of the film's DVD edition launched by Artificial Eye); the cultural references available to these students (who know about Austria but can't locate it on a map); and the idea of register (which they relate to age and class).

At the same time however, the film also hints at the limits of communication, as the teacher claims, "everyone is free to express themselves as long as they are polite" but then uses a very strong word to describe two students, leading to the climax of the film. Whereas *Ae fond kiss* used music and dialogue to create links between different cultures, *The Class* highlights the power but also the shortcomings (or potential danger, precisely because of its strength) of language in a multicultural

society – especially as it is allied to questions of class and privilege (a middle-class white teacher addresses a class of working-class, ethnically diverse students).

The EU's cultural policy also places a strong emphasis on this issue, with multilingualism being one of the key working areas of DG EAC, the European Commission division in charge of the education and culture sectors. However, just as in *The Class* a number of students complain when the teacher uses "Bill" (referring to a famous American President) as an example of a foreign name, proposing instead Aïssata or Fatou, so does multilingualism for the EU involve an exclusively Western and Eurocentric perspective. This scene, like EU policy, highlights the importance of defining what "sounds European" in opposition to what does not belong to Europe's linguistic heritage. Similarly, EU initiatives in this area protect regional idioms, such as Welsh or Catalan, but ignore the many Asian or African languages now spoken throughout the continent.

While such films as *Only Human, Ae fond kiss* and *The Class* highlight the importance of sound and language to the construction of a European cultural identity, they reach different conclusions about the unity of Europe. Paradoxically, the cultural differences accentuated in *Only Human* and *Ae fond kiss* do not prevent these films from depicting an essentially borderless, undivided urban space (and, by consequence, Europe), which is brought together by a cosmopolitan wish to be tolerant and culturally open. By contrast, *The Class* demonstrates the importance of language and the issues surrounding its usages to highlight a compromised European project that does not treat all citizens equally. The next section expands on the importance of language in the identification of the "others", "non-Europeans", as well as their cinema. It also explores the importance of movement and mobility for the constitution of European cities.

Migrant, diasporic, accented, hyphenated – European (cinema)?

Alongside the questioning of the idea of the nation and a growing interest in transnational film, migrant and diasporic cinemas have been increasingly explored. Expressions such as "accented cinema" (defined by Hamid Naficy's 2001 work of the same title[83]) and "hyphenated cinema" (discussed by Elsaesser in 2005[84]) signal new forms of thinking about European film. The popularity of the subject within academia is testified by its prominence in a large number of research projects, conferences and publications. Yosefa Loshitzky's *Screening Strangers* (2010) looks at this issue from the prism of representation[85], whereas Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg's *European Cinema in Motion* (2010) focuses on works by migrant and diasporic filmmakers[86]. Aiming to counterbalance what they have deemed Eurocentric accounts of European filmmaking, these studies clearly contrast a new transnational cinema with what they see as "bland" European co-productions, in other words, the previously discussed Euro-puddings[87]. As will be argued in this section, the issue of migrant cinema thus also becomes tied to the notion of quality. Keywords and the development of new vocabulary highlight the central position occupied by language in the definition of cultural and political barriers. Terminology is a key element of the distinction between what is seen as a "culturally incorrect" European homogenisation of identity and film and new topical approaches.

The focus on these cinemas finds a parallel in the wider quest for identity within contemporary society. From Nicolas Sarkozy's project on what it means to be French to the rise of right-wing extremist parties and political associations across the continent, discussions about who belongs to and who should be excluded from Europe are central to the future of the EU. Angela Merkel's claim in October 2010 that multiculturalism has failed in Germany and similar remarks made by British

Prime Minister David Cameron a few months later added to topical debates on Europe's stand on immigration and integration, particularly in relation to the Roma and Muslim communities, as in the case of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in Germany.

One of the most studied "migrant" European directors is Fatih Akın. Of Turkish origins, Akın was born and has lived most of his life in Hamburg; he is claimed by both Turkish and German cinema promoters, as well as also often presented as the most successful German-Turkish filmmaker. All this despite the fact that, as Elsaesser has noted, Akın "prefers not to be typecast as a hyphenated ethnic director, and if he cannot be Fatih Akın, he would rather be the new Scorsese rather than represent the German-Turkish constituency."[88] Nevertheless, his films are often about Turkish communities in Germany.

Gegen die Wand/Head-On tells the story of two German citizens of Turkish origins living in Hamburg: Cahit (Birol Ünel) and Sibel (Sibel Kikilli). After failing to commit suicide, the two meet in hospital, where Sibel, confined to her home by a traditional patriarchal family, asks Cahil to marry her so she can start a more independent life. A love story with dramatic contours, the film was watched by 700.000 people in Germany and 200.000 in Turkey, and a total of almost 2 million spectators all over Europe. *Head-On* also achieved considerable critical acclaim; it won prizes in the most important categories of the German Film Awards (Best Film, Director, Actor, Actress and Cinematography); was awarded a FIPRESCI prize and the Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival; it also won the Best Film and the Audience prizes at the European Film Awards. As shown by the attribution of the latter two awards, but also by its strong presence in the 2007 MEDIA clips (discussed in Chapter 2), *Head-On* has been used to position Akın as more than migrant or diasporic, namely as a European filmmaker. Indeed, his presence at

international film festivals meant the director has been increasingly discussed as a European *auteur*.[89]

Akın's subsequent works were presented at the Cannes Film Festival. These include *Auf der anderen Seite/The Edge of Heaven,* which was in competition for the Golden Palm and received the Best Screenplay prize in 2007. *The Edge of Heaven* tells the story of three pairs of characters: Ali (a widowed Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in Bremen) and his son Nejat (a professor of German at Hamburg University); Yeter (a Turkish prostitute in Bremen's red light district) and her daughter Ayten (a young woman, member of a Turkish communist resistance group); and Lotte (a Spanish and English student in Hamburg) and her mother Susanne (played by Fassbinder's muse Hanna Schygulla). Slightly less commercially successful than *Head-On* despite the presence of one of Germany's biggest film stars, it was also awarded the Best Director and the Best Film prizes at the German Film Awards, as well as the Best Screenwriter accolade at the European Film Awards.

In *Head-On,* the postcard-perfect musical numbers performed by the Golden Horne in Istanbul contrast deeply with the decadent presentation of Germany, Hamburg in particular. Even though Cahit and Sibel, like many other second-generation migrants, do not feel particularly "Turkish" (born in Turkey, Cahit refuses that label; whereas Sibel, born in Germany, wants to break free from what she perceives as the oppressive rules of her community), through these sequences, their nice music, costumes and a sunny backdrop, these characters' origins are invested with a positive, nostalgic tone. For Berghahn, "the theme of Akin's films is the migrant's experience of rootlessness, of culture clash and of living *between* or *in* two worlds."[90] Indeed, this dual experience suggested by Berghahn is built both in audio and visual terms. Cahit is an outcast in Germany but also in Turkey, as he does not

master the language (particularly visible in a scene where he visits Sibel's cousin in Istanbul); Sibel stands out through her appearance, clothes and make-up, both in Hamburg and in Istanbul (first as a sexy uninhibited woman; then as an extreme and angry tomboy).

However, in Akın's films, Germany and Turkey are also made similar. Just as in *Russian Dolls* parallelisms had been drawn between London, Paris and St. Petersburg through shots of canals, pubs and train stations, in *Head-On,* the St. Pauli red-light district in Hamburg, with its bars, drinking and drugs culture is compared to the lively Beyoğlu area in Istanbul. Akın's film is not about tourism, but still points to the dynamic and cosmopolitan character of both cities (as discussed by Bergfelder[91]). As such, Akın's films show that not only tourism, but also migration contribute to the definition of a new mobile and global Europe, visited by many, albeit as part of contrasting routes. The similarities between Germany and Turkey are also visible in demonstrations in Bremen and in Istanbul that open both the first and the second chapter of *The Edge of Heaven*. Shots of airports and planes further construct this comparison, but the most interesting connection arises in relation to Hamburg.

Presented exclusively as the city of the university where Nejat (Baki Davrak) works, Hamburg is matched by an Istanbul bookshop where later he buys books. As Ayten finds refuge in the university when she travels to Hamburg looking for Yeter (Nursel Köse), so do the characters travelling in the opposite direction (Nejat, Lotte and finally her mother) find solace in the bookshop. Cosmopolitan centres, Hamburg and Istanbul allow foreign visitors to experience a sense of commonality through two high culture places that are endowed with a sense of universality. Additionally, the significance of the university and the bookshop can also be seen in relation to their

functions, and thus in relation to language, a strong theme in this and in previous films analysed. In *The Edge of Heaven*, a number of scenes highlight the importance of words, translation and discourse: Nejat is a literature lecturer whom we see discussing Goethe; when Ayten travels to Istanbul, she must learn the word "shoe" in German in order to find her mother; finally, Susanne reads Lotte's diary after she is dead, trying to make sense of her daughter's life.

Language is also important in the sense that it contributes to the cosmopolitan characterisation of these spaces, although it initially differentiates, particularly in *Head-On*, characters from different origins. When Cahit meets Sibel's brother, he notices his Turkish "sucks" and thus addresses him in German; the two seemingly belong to the same culture, but are here distinguished through their speech. English is spoken by different characters in *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* as a mediating (universal) language. For instance, when, after leaving prison, Cahit travels to Istanbul to meet Sibel, *Head-On* appears to suggest he is closer to his origins; however, he speaks German with a taxi driver taking him to the city centre, a Bavarian born in Turkey. Daniele Archibugi has called English the true European Esperanto, replacing vernacular languages in many EU official discourses.[92] As he goes on to suggest, this is closer to a cosmopolitan, rather than a multicultural vision of Europe, since, instead of suggesting that all cultures (and therefore languages) must be preserved, possibly with translation, opts for a universal idiom that insists on commonality.

In addition to being seen as a European filmmaker because of his presence in prestigious international festival and award ceremonies, Akın uses Europe as theme in his films. In *The Edge of Heaven*, for instance, there is a dialogue on the EU and the negotiations for Turkey's accession that pictures the former as an imperialist

project. But although the films hint at the problems faced by these communities in terms of identification and exclusion, they are not particularly concerned with "social issues", for instance, marginalisation. Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez has suggested Akın's films emphasise the ordinariness of multiculturalism and hybrid identities.[93] Characters in *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* circulate freely between the two countries (with shots of cars and planes stressing the importance of movement in migrant cinema, as also discussed by Naficy[94]), just as they effortlessly shift between languages, speaking at least three, German, Turkish and English. Through a focus on these aspects, a use of popular music and the presence of stars, Akın's films offer, to certain extent, a glamorous or at least optimistic view of migration.

Studies of migrant cinema have privileged a director like Akın as a particularly fruitful case study, but his work can also be examined through other prisms of analysis and his films' relevance for contemporary European cinema is not exhausted by the "diasporic" label. On the one hand, the identification of Akın with a specific tag is challenged by his own refusal, as noted by Elsaesser (even if, historically, all filmmakers tend to deny their belonging to particular cinematic movements, as was discussed in the previous chapter in relation to the Romanian "New Wave"). On the other, my analysis of *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* denotes an ambivalence towards German, Turkish and European identities, as the films stress what there is in common rather than the differences between migrant and non-migrant characters. Despite the importance attributed to "transnationalism" by current studies of ethnicity within cultural identities, *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* point to the limitations of the term, shifting their attention from the issue of hyphenated identities to other, more general topics, including love, music, literature and travelling.

Although Turkish immigrants have been severely discriminated especially in terms of religion (with the German Interior Minister recently claiming "Islam does not belong in Germany"), the community portrayed by Akın is legal and was invited (they are, literally, guest workers) to come to Germany. As such, Akın's work is in contrast with a number of contemporary European films that offer a picture of other "unwanted" diasporic communities, particularly Roma, traditionally seen as "the other within"[95]. These have been prominently figured in the media after controversial decisions made by European countries such as Italy and France to expel Roma communities from their territory and a strong public condemnation from the European Commission (although the latter has not addressed their discriminatory treatment in their countries of origin, Romania and Bulgaria). In the case of the Roma, the distance from the European "norm" is extended by the fact that, as nomads, they do not "belong" to a nation in terms of putting roots in a local community, urban or otherwise. As films such as *Head-On* and *The Edge of Heaven* stress the importance, but also the fluidity, of national and cultural boundaries, the next section looks at the political borders of the EU, seen by many as a destination. In addition to planes, airports and travelling, other motifs emerge, that denounce the emergence of "Fortress Europe".

Entering, leaving and living in Fortress Europe

While Gypsies have been represented on screen by a diversity of films, genres and directors, Roma filmmakers have also seen their work distributed with the support of MEDIA. This is the case of Tony Gatlif and his film *Exils/Exiles*, where the theme of the Westerner as outsider emerges. Awarded the Best Director prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 2004, the film tells the story of Zano (Romain Duris) and Naima

(Lubna Azabal), a young couple who leave Paris towards Algiers, walking, hitchhiking and travelling by train through France, Spain and the north of Africa. On the one hand, Zano and Naima are seen as strangers because they come from the city. Walking through fields and small villages in Andalusia, Naima regrets having left her mobile phone at home; later on, Zano calls her attention to peas, "that green thing there", which she is incapable of recognising. On the other, and more significantly, the fact that they are European citizens leaving the continent is in contrast with the voyages of many migrants who every day try to enter "Fortress Europe".

Coined during the 1940s and originally referring to a Nazi plan for European occupation, the expression is often featured in sensationalistic newspaper headlines. Also the title of a film (*Tvrdjava Evropa*), "Fortress Europe" is today associated with European immigration, hinting at the efforts of national governments, as well as pan-European bodies, to control Europe's boundaries, but also at the difficulties and risks many face trying to cross such borders. The difference between those "with papers" and those without (or between the privileged Europeans and "the others") is made very clear in a scene in which Zano and Naima calmly walk through the Spanish border, whereas two Algerian people they had met on the road must hide in the back of a truck.

In their editorial for the first issue of the journal *Mobilities*, Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry denote the prominence of studies of movement and spatiality across social sciences, and the emergence of what they call a "mobility turn".[96] As defined by their work, the study of mobility allows for an understanding of a complex Europe since, as they go on to suggest, it "involves examining many consequences for different peoples and places located in what we might call the fast and slow lanes of social life"[97]. What *Exiles* and the sequence analysed above denote

is the emergence of what Hannam *et al* define as a "'kinetic elite' whose ease of mobility differentiates them from the low-speed, low-mobility majority."[98] However, as this section will show, it is not so much mobility *per se* but the legal status of this movement what distinguishes the citizen from the "other", the tourist from the migrant.

Other contemporary films represent similar clandestine journeys, not from, but to Europe, being often set in marginal spaces, within the city (even if sometimes set in main European metropolises, such as London in *In This World*), but also within Europe more generally. *Lilja 4-Ever/Lilya 4-Ever*, for instance, depicts a series of anonymous urban locations, from Eastern European derelict buildings to tall and isolated tower blocks in Malmö, Sweden. The film tells the story of Lilya (Oksana Akinshina), a teenage girl abandoned by her mother "somewhere in the former Soviet Union". With no money or interest in school, Lilya is promised a job in Sweden by handsome Andrei (Pavel Ponomaryov). However, after arriving in Malmö, she is locked in a flat and forced to work as a prostitute.

As Dina Iordanova has noted, "most of the protagonists in the films of the multicultural urban margin are new migrants from various parts of the former Soviet Empire."[99] This highlights internal divisions within the continent, as if some regions were "more European" than others – which is visible in a number of MEDIA supported films, such as *25 Degrés en Hiver/25 Degrees in Winter* (about an Ukrainian woman entering Belgium illegally), *Lichter/Distant Lights* (an omnibus film set on the Polish-German border and including a story about Ukrainian migrants), *Last Resort* (on a young Russian woman and her son awaiting to be granted asylum in the UK), *Transe/Trance* (about a Russian young woman hoping to achieve a better life in Germany) and indeed *Lilya 4-Ever*.

Widely discussed in relation to migration, globalisation, neoliberalism and human trafficking[100], *Lilya 4-Ever* also hints at the political limitations of Europe. It is because she has a passport (albeit a fake one) that Lilya is able to leave her impoverished town to travel to Sweden, which she sees as a definite improvement. However, as her passport is taken away by those controlling her, Lilya is incapable of escaping. Deprived of a document and of an official identity, she becomes a non-citizen, losing all her rights.

Whereas *Lilya 4-Ever* denounces the barbaric commodification of trafficked women across Europe, *Princesas/Princesses*, another story set in the prostitution world, further highlights the issue of racism. The film's main characters are Caye (Candela Peña), a Spanish middle-class prostitute, and Zulema (Micaela Nevárez), a Dominican illegal immigrant recently arrived in Madrid and forced to turn to prostitution. Watching the "new girls" from the window of a hair salon (Fig. 4.12), Caye and other Spanish prostitutes clearly mark the difference between them and "the others", seen as competition because of the cheap prices they offer. Derogatory views of these women include comments about the way they walk, the fact that they "smell" because they have different hormones and that they don't wash for cultural and religious reasons; Caye's friends more than once call the police, trying to get the immigrants arrested and possibly deported.

As demonstrated by the scene at the hairdresser, the opposition between the Spanish prostitutes and the immigrants is constructed through shots of or with windows. In *Princesses*, windows further suggest the characters are trying to break free (as was Lilya). As the narrative progresses, Caye and Zulema become friends, but although there is a transformation in Caye (who becomes less bigoted and more humane, even if this is met with disapproval from her friends at the salon), no

solution is presented for Zulema's troubles. Hence, when the two women sit in a café, discussing their dreams and plans for the future, they nostalgically look outside the window, as if imagining a place beyond the one they inhabit (Fig. 4.13). Then, they go window-shopping, as Zulema looks for a birthday gift for her son, still in the Dominican Republic (Fig. 4.14) and the camera films them from inside the shop, clearly positioning them "outside". Finally, Caye watches Zulema calling her family from a glass phone booth (Fig. 4.15), with the scene stressing the physical boundaries that affect Zulema's situation.

Figs. 4.12-4.15 Windows in *Princesses*

Zulema's origins, as Lilya's background in the previous film, are here presented as limitations. Throughout *Princesses*, Zulema tries at all costs to get a work permit; she feels her nationality is a shortcoming that prevents her from legally integrating within guarded Europe. Just as in *Lilya 4-Ever*, passports and permits become here a symbol of the continent's fear of the other, of racism and xenophobia. As *leitmotifs*, they also link the topics of tourism and migration, clearly dividing

those who are in possession of such documents and as such belong (even if only temporarily) to Europe, being positively identified as tourists, and those who remain outside the community, negatively distanced as migrants. As such, these films highlight the existence of a two-tiered Europe that welcomes those visiting but denies entrance to those looking for work or better living conditions.

Conversely, the theme of (a European) nationality as empowerment is explored in the final of the MEDIA films analysed in this thesis: *Le Silence de Lorna/The Silence of Lorna*. The film tells the story of an Albanian immigrant who successfully applies for Belgian citizenship after a sham marriage with a junkie from Liège. After winning the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival in 1999 for *Rosetta* and in 2005 for *L'enfant/The Child*, writers-directors Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne (whose work has been widely discussed given their status as European *auteurs*) won the Best Screenplay prize for *The Silence of Lorna* in the 2008 Cannes festival.

The film begins with a scene in a bank, where we see Lorna (Arta Dobroshi) asking for an appointment with the manager, revealing: "I'll be Belgian soon, I'll be able to do it". Referring to a loan application, she immediately states the importance of having a piece of paper officially attesting to her belonging to a European country, citizenship signifying a new life and new opportunities. The setting of this initial scene highlights the importance of money (which often buys such documents) and transactions (at times of people themselves, trafficked as goods) for the situation of many immigrants trying to start a new life in Europe. But, more importantly, the way Lorna phrases her request also stresses the fact that as a EU citizen she has rights – something that neither Lilya nor Zulema, in the films discussed before, could enjoy. To some extent, however, these rights are limited through language. Lorna's silence binds her to the plans, wishes and demands of other people, as well as trapping her in

her own guilt about having agreed to be part of a plan that involves killing her husband with an overdose.

On the other hand, unlike Lilya, locked like a valuable possession in a tower block in Malmö, as a citizen, Lorna has some belongings of her own to protect. Keys and locks are recurring objects in the film, stressing the themes of confinement, safety and right of entry. *The Silence of Lorna* enacts a tension between freedom and entrapment, in terms of narrative but also *mise-en-scène.* Lorna's marriage seems to signify liberty as it will grant her a Belgian identity card, but it also involves living in a small apartment and locking away her belongings every day. In the film's final sequence, Lorna runs to the woods (signifying the ideal of freedom), but not only is the camera mostly centred on her rather than on the space around her, this scene also culminates in a locked and small shed (stressing Lorna's continuing imprisonment). *The Silence of Lorna* can thus be seen to metaphorically represent Fortress Europe, which emerges as a highly guarded place where surveillance plays a determinant role. Lorna is constantly watched and constantly watches her belongings. Her new official European status signifies an apparent freedom, but she remains a second-class citizenship.

Urban dystopias work as bookends to the second half of this chapter, from class and racial divisions in Glasgow and Paris, to the hellish lives of women like Lilya, Zulema and Lorna. These films show the difficulties those entering, leaving and living in Europe face in terms of bureaucracy, by highlighting the prominence of passports, papers and certificates. The importance of language is equally stressed, especially in the sense of status (which is either official or non-existent, as in the simple dichotomy between the citizen and the illegal "other"). However, while these remain strong motifs, legality and terminology are not the most pressing issues

affecting Europe today, but rather the visible tip of a political iceberg that sees the actions of European institutions such as the EU preventing an increasing number of people from crossing its boundaries or doing so in humane conditions. The mobility of those depicted in the films discussed in the first section (whether European, like Xavier in *Pot Luck* or non-European – for instance, North American, like Carol in *2 Days in Paris*) is thus contrasted with the multiple obstacles faced by Lilya, Zulema and Lorna. My analysis offers overlapping positive and negative images of contemporary Europe, which thus emerges as a complex and contradictory society.

Conclusion: a complex Europe on screen

As it surveyed filmic representations of contemporary Europe, this chapter presented urban space as the sphere *par excellence* in which to examine transformations in today's society. Unlike Barber's suggestion, cities do not seem to be disappearing from European cinema; rather, they become increasingly prominent, allowing for a reflection on Europe's current situation. Returning to Steiner's definition, cities such as Paris, London and Barcelona can indeed be "walked", but the urban characters that populate them are no longer the *flâneur* and the poet. Artists still live in these cities (Pierre in *Paris*, Nola in *Match Point*, Huma Rojo in *All About My Mother*), but so do social workers (in *Paris* and *All About My Mother*) and immigrants (*Paris je t'aime, Princesses*, among others). In this sense, contemporary films also highlight Europe's contrasting nature, confirming Konstantarakos's point about space in European cinema. While its cities are simultaneously dangerous and trendy (with the Glasgow of *Red Road* and of *Ae fond kiss* a case in point), Europe is at the same time a destination for both tourists and migrants, a political project defending multilingualism and a social reality discriminating those who do not sound European,

a borderless space that is also closed.

Similarly, this chapter was divided into two main sections, roughly divergent in their tones: one discussing positive views of Europe and the other exploring negative aspects of its contemporary society. In the first half of this chapter, my analysis looked at the way in which iconic views of European cities are in keeping with the EU's idea of urban space as a touristic space, but also as a cultural space. My definition of cinematic postcards allowed me to problematise images of iconic landmarks in cinema and the discourses circulating around them (for instance, in terms of authenticity and quality). I argued "touristic" representations of European cities should not be dismissed since, rather than stating the obviousness of Europe's history, they highlight its density. Functioning as souvenirs or teasers, these postcards update the experience of the visitor (or the visitor-to-be), stressing the important link between tourism and knowledge – to visit a place is to get to know it (even if partially), to visit Europe is thus to learn about it.

Cities emerge as part of Europe's heritage, but the current importance of urban space is also consistent with contemporary global changes. While the branding of European cities is not a new phenomenon (Mark Shiel, for instance, has discussed the promotion of Rome and Paris as modernist cities in the post-war period[101]), the link I have established between these films and the European integration process highlights the growing importance of the city at a time when the nation is increasingly questioned. This involves a shift to both smaller and wider scales, often conveyed in a tension between the local and the global (as visible in *Paris*). As cities become key actors in a globalised world, this chapter also mentioned the promotional work being carried out by local authorities, in constant need of national and international projection (as in my discussion of cinematic London and Barcelona, but

also, for instance, through the increasing number of film festivals emerging all over Europe).

Through the idea of cosmopolitanism, my examination of recent co-productions also explored the notion of Europeanness as universality (that emerged in Chapter 3 in relation to films such as *Merry Christmas*), highlighting a desire by the EU to be perceived as a global actor that welcomes all. The Erasmus initiative, for instance, appears as an effort to construct a transnational citizenship – and one that is ready to accept those outside of Europe. However, this universalism was contrasted with an elitist and thus limiting view of Europe based on notions of quality and, in the sphere of film, art and *auteur* cinema. Tourism and cosmopolitanism are interconnected phenomena, representing the "right kind" of citizen. The picture that emerges is one of complexity; this is particularly visible in the superimposition of apparently contrasting discourses: tourism and migration. While the tourist (a figure denigrated in contemporary culture) travels to Europe mostly because of its history – visiting cathedrals, museums and historic cemeteries, following the development of the heritage industry – *Paris* and *Paris je t'aime*, for instance, also highlight a dark and not just celebratory character.

In the chapter's second section, Le Galès' claim regarding the equivalence of social and urban problems is confirmed, as housing problems, intercultural conflicts and immigration characterise cities like Glasgow, Paris, Hamburg and Madrid. While I have opted to name these films after Hill's designation of 1980s British cinema, the works analysed often go beyond the nation, thus offering a reflection on the "state of Europe". *Red Road, Hidden, The Edge of Heaven* and *Princesses* highlight the existence of a truly transnational European cinema, both in terms of their production and distribution contexts and on screen; they constitute a European cinema that

thinks beyond national borders.

Bypassing the national is also in evidence through the focus on the further splitting of the space of the city. Hence, different areas and cultures emerge within the metropolis, as ever more visible borders divide it into smaller units, in physical and symbolical terms. The two sides of Paris in *Hidden*, for instance, testify to this, with CCTV offering a privileged tool to control these new micro spheres. The topics of surveillance and religion as well as the themes of silence and windows (among others) also allowed me to identify a series of concrete boundaries – in contemporary cities and societies – despite the fact that theories of globalisation, but also the EU's adoption of the Schengen Agreement, construct a seemingly borderless Europe.

In addition to this paradox, if, as the EU claims, Europe has always been multicultural, new struggles are visible today, with immigrants such as those featured in *Paris je t'aime* and *Paris* being excluded from this Euro-globe.[102] This contradicts the positive attitude expressed by the European Commission and can be particularly observed in relation to language, as, in contrast with the English spoken in *Pot Luck* and *Russian Dolls*, new idioms become part of Europe's soundscape. Through my discussion of language as a stamp and seal of approval, I moved from terminology (both within and outside the films discussed, in relation to migrant cinema) to legality. I presented bureaucracy as a surface issue emerging through motifs such as airports and passports but relating to more intricate political decisions.

Indeed, the implications of my analysis can be observed both in European cinema and in European society. Connections between tourism and migration have been drawn in relation to globalisation and the emergence of increasingly mobile societies. But if a major goal of the European integration process is the opening of Europe's borders, this overlapping shows that this is only the case for the lucky few

(the "kinetic elite" discussed by Hannam *et al*). Seeking pleasure and desire for information is in contrast with a parallel darker movement; the concept of borders (external and internal, rigid and porous) becomes particularly useful for an understanding of contemporary Europe in geographical, cultural and political terms.

Additionally, these overlapping discourses are helpful to characterise contemporary European cinema. Realist in different ways (*Lilya 4-Ever*, for instance, has a significant number of sequences based exclusively on fantasy), most films considered in the second part of my chapter can be seen as examples of European art cinema, traditionally seen as more "committed".[103] As I argued the significance of films about social issues should not be exhausted in topical labels such as "migrant cinema", my examination showed the importance of cutting across historical divisions within European cinema, namely the dichotomy art vs. popular cinema. Nevertheless, comparisons can be drawn in relation to these films' genres. In contrast to a number of crime films, melodramas and thrillers in the last section, a predominance of comedies in the first half of the chapter contributes to the positive and consensual tone of my discussion of cinematic postcards. For instance, the distinction between centre and periphery highlights the existence of a Europe of regions – a key EU policy – albeit with contrasting values; whereas films like *Lilya-4-Ever* suggest some regions are more "European" than others, *Russian Dolls* depicts a more homogeneous Europe on screen.

These films draw attention to an economic, humanitarian (especially in relation to women and trafficking) and identity crisis (even for European citizens, as in the case of *Exiles*), as they constantly ask and problematise feelings of belonging. They are good examples of the convergence (especially in the first section) and, in some cases, divergence between cinema and EU policies, in cultural and other areas, and

as such they contribute to the definition of the idea of Europe.

Endnotes

[1] Arnaldo Bagnasco and Patrick Le Galès, *Cities in Contemporary Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1
[2] European Commission, 'Guide to the Urban Dimension in EU Policies', http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/guides/urban/index_en.htm, Accessed online 27/12/10
[3] Patrick Le Galès, *European Cities: Social Conflicts and Governance* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5
[4] George Steiner, *Una certa idea di Europa* (Milan: Garzanti, 2006), 29. My translation, in Italian in the original: "il luogo del dibattito intellettuale"; "lo frequentano il *flâneur*, il poeta".
[5] Steiner, 2006, 32. My translation, in Italian in the original: "L'Europa è stata, e viene ancora, *camminata*."
[6] Jack Lang, 'Letter [to Melina Mercouri] – Documentation Centre on European Capitals of Culture', http://www.ecoc-doc-athens.eu/athens-home/the-organisation.html, Accessed online 20/12/10. My translation, in French in the original: "Et chaque pays d'Europe says bien qu'il est l'hérétier el le continuateur d'une grande aventure qu'on a appelée 'l'humanisme' et qui prit naissance sur votre terre il y à en peu plus de 2.500 ans."
[7] Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency, 'Why Istanbul?', http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/2010AKBAJANSI/hakk%C4%B1nda/index.htm, Accessed online 20/12/10
[8] Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds.), *Screening the City* (London: Verso, 2003)
[9] Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli, *From Moscow to Madrid* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 8
[10] Stephen Barber, *Projected Cities* (London: Reaktion, 2002),106
[11] Myrto Konstantarakos, Introduction to *Spaces in European Cinema*, ed. Konstantarakos (Exeter: Intellect, 2000), 4
[12] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd Edition (London: Sage, 2001), 3
[13] Serge Daney, *Postcards from the Cinema*, trans. Paul Douglas Grant (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2007 [1994]), 62.
[14] Ginette Vincendeau, 'Cinéma du look', in *Encyclopedia of European Cinema* (London: BFI, 1995), 82-83.
[15] Marc Augé, 'Paris and the Ethnography of the Contemporary World', in *Parisian Fields*, ed. Michael Sheringham (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 179
[16] Literature on Paris and the cinema include: Dudley J. Andrew, *Mists of regret: culture and sensibility in classic French film* (Princeton; Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1995) – on national cinema and on poetic realism; Alastair Philips, *City of darkness, city of light: émigré filmmakers in Paris 1929-1939* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004); Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris and Sarah Street, *Film architecture and the transnational imagination: set design in 1930s European cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007) – on European cinema; and Ginette Vincendeau, *La Haine* (London and New York: IB Tauris, 2005) – on *banlieue* cinema; among others.
[17] Ginette Vincendeau, 'Designs on the *Banlieue*', in *French Film: Texts and Contexts*, Second Edition, eds. Susan Hayward and Ginette Vincendeau (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 311-312
[18] Isabelle Vanderschelden, *Amélie* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007)
[19] 'Let's go on the Amelie's tour!', 21/08/09, http://europe.eurostar.com/2009/08/21/lets-go-on-the-amelies-tour/ Accessed online 08/11/10
[20] Catherine Wheatley, 'Paris', in *Sight and Sound* 18:8 (August 2008), 74
[21] Yann Tobin, 'Paris je t'aime – L'auberge parisienne', in *Positif* 545/546 (July/August 2006), 133. My translation, in French in the original: "(…) une sorte de visite guidée du cinema d'aujourd'hui"
[22] Urry, 2001, 117
[23] See for instance Giorgio Rinaldi in *Cineforum*; Alan Morrison in *Empire*; and Chris Darke in *Sight and Sound*
[24] See for instance Vanessa R. Schwartz, "[…] France's 'particularity' seemed to be sex", in *It's so French!* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 107
[25] As *Paris je t'aime*, according to the Lumiere database, *2 Days in Paris* also had more spectators in the USA than in France.
[26] Dean MacCannell, *The tourist*, 2nd Edition (Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, 1999), 9
[27] Ibid., 102

[28] Urry, 2001, 57
[29] For a different perspective on this see Diane Negra, 'Romance and/as Tourism: Heritage Whiteness and the (Inter)National Imaginary in the New Women's film' in *Transnational Cinema: the Film Reader*, eds. Ezra and Rowden (London: Routledge, 2006), 169-180
[30] Jason Matloff, 'Woody Allen's European Vacation' (Interview), in *Premiere* 19:5 (February 2006), 100
[31] Graham Fuller, 'Court jester', in *Sight and Sound* 16:1 (January 2006), 18
[32] Charlotte Brunsdon, *London in Cinema* (London: BFI, 2007), 22
[33] Yannick Lemairé, 'Woody Allen et l'Europe: lieu commun', in *Positif* 572 (October 2008), 12
[34] Mazierska and Rascaroli, 2003, 169
[35] Colin Cameron, 'The London of "Match Point"', in *The New York Times* (7 February 2006), http://travel2.nytimes.com/2006/02/07/travel/08weblondon.html Accessed Online, 24/10/10
[36] Les Roberts, 'Projecting Place: Location Mapping, Consumption and Cinematographic Tourism', in *The city and the moving image*, eds. Richard Koeck and Les Roberts (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 185
[37] Urry, 2001, 3
[38] Maria Güell, 'Barcelona según el cine', in *ABC* (17 February 2008)
[39] Charles Gant, 'The power of Pedro', in *Sight and Sound* 16:10 (October 2006), 8
[40] European Commission, 'The ERASMUS Programme – Studying in Europe and more', http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc80_en.htm, Accessed online 18/12/10
[41] TAP Portugal, 'És estudante universitário ou vais fazer Erasmus?', http://www.flytap.com/Portugal/pt/Empresa/Imprensa/EmDestaque/CampanhaEstudantes/, Accessed online 18/12/10
[42] See for instance Elizabeth Ezra and Antonio Sánchez, '*L'Auberge espagnole* (2002): transnational departure or domestic crash landing?', in *Studies in European Cinema* 2:2 (2005)
[43] MacCannell, 1999, 105
[44] Ezra and Sánchez, 2005, 140
[45] See for instance Liese Spencer, 'Russian Dolls' (review), in *Sight and Sound* 16:6 (June 2006), 67
[46] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City*, 2nd Edition (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001)
[47] Sylvie Blum-Reid, 'Away from home?', in *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 29:1 (2009), 4
[48] See for instance Graham Roberts, 'East meets West: Mapping the new Europe in Yuri Mamin's *A Window to Paris'* in Konstantarakos, 2000, 178
[49] Blum-Reid, 2009, 4
[50] Mazierska and Rascaroli, 2003, 19
[51] Tim Bergfelder, "Contemporary European Cinema: From the Transnational to the Cosmopolitan", keynote speech given at the "European Cinema Today: Transnational, Transmedial, Transcultural" conference, Cork, 14-15 May 2010
[52] Chris Rumford, 'Cosmopolitanism and Europe' [editorial], in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 18:1 (2005), 2
[53] Stephanie H. Donald, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin (eds.), *Branding cities* (New York; London: Routledge, 2009), 3
[54] Bergfelder, 2010
[55] Ginette Vincendeau, "Gare du Nord: from cinéma-vérité to post-modernity", paper presented at the "In the Shadow of Empire: The Post-Imperial Urban Imaginaries of London and Paris" conference, University of Warwick, 17 May 2008
[56] Bagnasco and Le Galès, 2000, 4
[57] John Hill, *British Cinema in the 1980s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 133
[58] Stefano Baschiera and Laura Rascaroli, 'Glasgow, Liverpool, Machester', in *La Ville au Cinéma*, eds. Thierry Jousse and Thierry Paquot (Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 2005)
[59] Elizabeth Lebas, 'Sadness and Gladness: The Films of Glasgow Corporation, 1922–1938', in *Film Studies* 6 (Summer 2005), 29
[60] The realist character of the film is noted, among others, by Andrew Burke, 'Concrete Universality: Tower blocks, architectural modernism and realism in contemporary British Cinema' in *New Cinemas* (5:3, 2007), 187
[61] Glasgow Development Agency, 'Glasgow 1990 – European City of Culture', http://www.ecoc-doc-athens.eu/glasgow-home/the-organisation.html, Accessed online 07/01/11, 1
[62] Ibid., 12
[63] Burke, 2007, 177

[64] Ian Aitken, 'The European realist tradition', *Studies in European Cinema* (3:3, 2006), 175-188
[65] 'The Caché Dossier', *Screen* 48:2 (Summer 2007), 211-249
[66] Vincendeau, 2005, 23
[67] The distinction between a "real" and an "imagined" Paris is proposed by Susan Hayward in 'The City as Narrative: Corporeal Paris in Contemporary French Cinema 1950-1990', in *Spaces in European Cinema*, ed. Myrto Konstantarakos (Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000), 23. For Hayward, there are two Paris: "a city of our imaginings" and an "invisibilised city of our suppressed imaginings, [...] linked to a fragmented social existentiality".
[68] Ibid., 33
[69] European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 'Promoting Sustainable Urban Development in Europe – Achievements and Opportunities' (Brussels: European Communities, 2009), 47
[70] This trend seems to be inverting once more at the time of writing, with, for instance, an ever growing number of Portuguese citizens emigrating to Brazil in face of the euro-zone debt crisis.
[71] European Commission, 2009, 47
[72] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (eds.), 'Introduction' to *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality, and Transnational Media* (New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 7
[73] European Commission, DG-EAC, 'About the Year', http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/, accessed online 13/01/11
[74] Verve Pictures, 'Only Human', http://www.vervepics.com/onlyhuman.shtml. Accessed online 13/01/11, 8
[75] For instance, Donald *et al*, 2009, 2
[76] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 4
[77] In James Mottram, 'In the mood for love', in *Sight and Sound* 14: 3 (March 2004), 23
[78] Ibid., 2004, 22-23
[79] David Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema:* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 182
[80] Giampero Frasca, 'Dialoghi di Frontiera', in *Cineforum* 479 (November 2008), 3. My translation, in Italian in the original: "tutte le scuole periferiche delle grandi città europee".
[81] Ginette Vincendeau, 'The Rules of the Game', in *Sight and Sound* 19:3 (March 2009), 36
[82] See for instance Dana Strand, '*Être et parler*: Being and speaking French in Abdellatif Kechiche's *L'Esquive* (2004) and Laurent Cantet's *Entre les murs* (2008)', in *Studies in French Cinema* 9:3 (2009), 259–272
[83] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001)
[84] Thomas Elsaesser, *European cinema: face to face with Hollywood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 109
[85] Yosefa Loshitzky, *Screening Strangers* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010)
[86] Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg (eds), *European Cinema in Motion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
[87] Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, 'Locating Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe', in *European Cinema in Motion*, eds. Berghahn and Sternberg (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 22
[88] Elsaesser, 2005, 498
[89] See for instance Polona Petek, 'Enabling collisions: Re-thinking multiculturalism through Fatih Akın's *Gegen die Wand/Head On*', in *Studies in European Cinema* 4:3 (2007), 179
[90] Daniela Berghahn, 'No place like home? Or impossible homecomings in the films of Fatih Akın', in *New Cinemas* 4:3 (2006), 142-143
[91] Bergfelder, 2010
[92] Daniele Archibugi, 'The Language of Democracy: Vernacular or Esperanto?', in *Cosmopolitanism and Europe*, ed. Chris Rumford (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press), 142-157
[93] Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 'Transculturation in German and Spanish Migrant and Diasporic Cinema: On Constrained Spaces and Minor Intimacies in *Princesses* and *A Little Bit of Freedom*', in *European Cinema in Motion*, eds. Berghahn and Sternberg (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 114
[94] In the influential *An Accented Cinema* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), Hamid Naficy also discusses the significance of journeys and border crossings in exilic and diasporic cinema, focusing on airports, hotels, trains and buses as cinematic motifs, but also on the suitcase as a key symbol of the exilic experience.
[95] Loshitzky, 2010, 4

[96] Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry. 'Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings', in *Mobilities* 1:1 (March 2006), 1
[97] Ibid., 11
[98] Ibid., 6
[99] Dina Iordanova, 'Migration and Cinematic Process in Post-Cold War Europe', in *European Cinema in Motion*, eds. Berghahn and Sternberg (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 60
[100] See for instance William Brown, Dina Iordanova and Leshu Torchin, *Moving People, Moving Images* (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 2010)
[101] Mark Shiel, 'Branding the Modernist Metropolis: The Eternal City and the City of Lights in Cinema after World War II', in *Branding cities,* eds. Donald *et al* (New York; London: Routledge, 2009), 105-122
[102] For more on a history of migration in Europe and a comparison of historical and contemporary discourses on this topic, see Saskia Sassen, 'The Numbers and the Passions are Not New', in *Third Text* 20:6 (2006), 635-645
[103] This can also be seen in line with the emergence of a new political cinema, for instance in France; see Martin O'Shaughnessy, *The New Face of Political Cinema* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2007)

CONCLUSION

This thesis asked what idea of Europe emerges, is represented and potentially constructed by contemporary European cinema. The first half, composed of Chapters 1 and 2, was focused on the meanings and origins of the idea of Europe; the second half, Chapters 3 and 4, examined a series of European films released with the support of the EU's MEDIA programme in the past two decades.

Whereas Chapter 1 was centred on the history of European integration, analysing official EU documents, Chapter 2 added to the discussion of the idea of Europe by offering insight into the cultural and film policies developed at the European Commission in Brussels. The focus on EU rather than just Europe or European cinema has been a central feature of this thesis. As such, it has expanded on the existing literature by cataloguing the initiatives launched and listing the films actually supported by MEDIA, as well as by questioning the programme's economic and cultural impact, in relation to the conditions of the European film industry and the way it has been communicated to film professionals and citizens across the continent.

Differing in their approach, these two chapters testified to the difficulties in pinpointing the meaning of the idea of Europe. As an art form that relies on institutional funding and reaches people of different nationalities within and beyond the continent, cinema was proposed as a rich field in which to look for the significance of such an idea. Chapters 3 and 4 analysed cinematic representations of Europe's past and present and my investigation proved helpful to understand the changes occurring in contemporary filmmaking practices, as well as the connection between film and wider cultural discourses available in society. Whereas this thesis

raised a series of questions about the idea of Europe on the one hand and European cinema on the other – answers to which have been attempted throughout – its main contribution is precisely the link it operates between these two areas of investigation.

A keyword that has emerged is complexity. The idea of Europe in contemporary European cinema was clarified through associations and clusters of meaning, rather than precise definitions. The most striking aspect of this complexity has been the surfacing of a series of dialectics, which have underpinned and thus connected all sections in this thesis. Very clearly, confirming Edgar Morin's claim about Europe's dialogical essence[1], Europe appeared here as a space of contradictions. These contradictions do not make the idea of Europe in European cinema indefinite, ambiguous or bland, but rich. In this conclusion, I discuss the three major dialectical tensions raised by my research and that cut across different EU policy initiatives and film genres: national vs. transnational, art vs. commerce and thought vs. emotion.

The tension between the national and the transnational reflects Europe's obvious geographical dimension. As noted in Chapter 1, Europe is, after all, a continent. Because my focus has been on the EU, the idea of Europe investigated here also has a major institutional facet. The opposition between the national and the transnational thus allows for a geo-political understanding of Europe as well as of European cinema. The national has always been a prime way of understanding the issue of identity and when thinking about Europe, it is impossible to ignore the important role played by nation-states. Similarly, the understanding of film in Europe has been shaped by an attention to national cinemas. Yet, it is equally impossible to ignore a push to go beyond borders that has risen with the expansion of globalisation and, significantly, Europeanisation and that affects both the study of identities and of

film.

Before I explain how the dialectical relationship between the national and the transnational affects my study of Europe and European cinema, it is important to note that the national and the transnational are not exactly contrary concepts; in fact the national is, to start with semantically, part of the transnational. Hence, this particular dichotomy can be understood as a process, as the terms that constitute it are connected by an evolutionary line. This is, however, a bi-directional path – as I have suggested for instance in relation to the permanence of the national dimension in co-productions, where we witness an apparent reverse shift from the transnational back to the national.

In historical films, including those oriented towards an international market (for instance, the North American market, as in the case of *La Vie en rose*), the idea of the nation was vividly present. Many historical figures and key events are appropriated by and permanently tied to the nation. However, this is a relative positioning of the nation, as if national cultures (most often depicted through stereotypes, as in *Merry Christmas*) are highlighted to be recognised but are then placed in a wider cultural context, as if the national was precisely what allows filmmakers and potentially audiences to represent and experience a transnational Europe. Hence, it is not just that film has always been transnational, but also that, somewhat paradoxically, it is the persistence and the solid grounding of the nation that allows many representations of Europe's past to actually go beyond borders.

Because the national and transnational are, on a first level, geo-political terms, they are also related to other spatial spheres. To better illustrate this dichotomy, I will discuss two major topics that have, throughout this thesis, problematised it, going from a wider to a smaller scale: universality on the one hand and the growing

importance of cities on the other.

Universality emerged in all the chapters of this thesis and was identified as a key characteristic of the history of Europe, the European film industry, EU film and cultural policy as well as the focus of a number of contemporary European films. Europe is at once defined in opposition to others (apparently excluding them) and welcoming to those beyond its borders. This thesis showed that being a European citizen also involves being a global citizen, in the same way that Europe's values and films are supposedly understood and potentially shared by people all around the world.

Hence, tied to this term, and equally tied to the tension between the national and the transnational, is the rise of cosmopolitanism. The way in which Europe becomes similar to and connects with the rest of the world is two-fold. On the one hand, Europe is a political agent on prominent issues to do with armed conflicts and climate change. On the other, it wishes to be associated with, and indeed promotes in its cultural policies and in the films it supports, general and uncontested values, such as tolerance, democracy and respect for human rights. Both the development of Europe's cultural heritage and the boost of tourism illustrate, including in cinematic terms, this desire by Europe to be universal and cosmopolitan. Indeed, the heritage genre had in common with films set in the present the appeal to internal and external visitors, raising issues of authenticity and quality (concepts further developed later on) that bond the national and transnational spheres.

Cosmopolitanism is also linked to the other topic I am putting forward to explore the opposition between the national and the transnational in Europe: the rising impact of the European metropolis. In the films set in the present, it is not so much the nation, but the city, that serves as the most significant sphere of

identification for individuals. The city is the space where the nation lives (when we consider, for instance, the role of capitals in representing the state and consolidating the authority of political powers, as in the prominence of shots of the Houses of Parliament and Westminster in films set in London) but also where it is confronted with the transnational, and indeed where the nation is at its most transnational (as it is linked to international locations, as in town-twinning, at the same time welcoming people from everywhere, as we saw for instance in *Paris*).

The city is particularly valuable for a transnational framework as it offers a new sphere of reflection that is not just different from the nation, but also constitutes a key link between nations. The EU understood this importance when it created the European Capital of Culture initiative at the end of the 1980s; just as a network of cities emerges here, so are many contemporary films set in different, but connected spaces. The optimism of co-productions such as *Pot Luck* and its sequel *Russian Dolls*, where European capitals have similar spaces and perform similar functions, was contrasted with the bleak depiction of films such as those by director Fatih Akın – even though these also testify to the similarities between metropolises in Germany and Turkey. Cosmopolitanism links European cities, countries and individuals, at the same time as, through an association with universalism, it positions Europe as equal to the rest of the world, or as welcoming not just to Europeans, but to all.

Performing a cultural and a financial role, the city also functions as a meaningful transition between the opposition I have been describing and the second major dialectical tension found in this thesis: art vs. commerce. The latter could also be defined in terms of culture vs. industry – and indeed that is how it was explored in Chapter 2 when I discussed the European film industry and the support it has been granted by the EU. Art and culture are terms traditionally associated with Europe, the

"intellectual", high-brow continent, just as European cinema is generally – and despite work on popular European cinema – perceived as art cinema. But film is also an industry, not least because it involves the transaction of large sums of money. Commerce, on the other hand, is an increasingly powerful force with the development of capitalism and a global trend for economic liberalisation as well as the rise of consumption in contemporary society, being linked to issues of branding and commodification.

European cinema and the EU policies developed to support it have been characterised by a constant hesitation between wanting to increase the economic potential of European film and promoting its cultural aspects. These have at different moments encouraged a European cinema that is popular (and has, for instance, many internationally successful stars) or high-brow (defined by a long list of *auteurs*, reaching considerable levels of acclaim within and across – and sometimes exclusively across – national borders). Contemporary European cinema, especially as understood by the EU, is always tied to the idea of quality (with, at the other end of the spectrum, popular co-productions being disparaged as "Euro-puddings"), but an attachment to the avant-garde is equally dismissed as audience appeal remains crucial. At the same time, the popular is never really "abandoned" to the mainstream. The emergence of an essentially middlebrow cinema as the cinema favoured by EU cultural institutions echoes the notion of universality – testifying to the extent to which the dichotomies described in this conclusion are interrelated.

Heritage and social realism have proved central to the idea of Europe in European cinema, as two "genres" that embody particularly clearly the tension between art and commerce. The link between historical films and art is explored in the films analysed at the outset of Chapter 3, as the respect for historical figures,

especially artists, was patently used as inspiration. Yet, as many have argued in relation to the heritage industry, the way in which these figures have been represented is tied to a commodification of the past, transforming "serious" history into audiovisual spectacle. Addressing similar concerns, films in the final section of Chapter 3 explored the extent to which Europe can make its past available to audiences in a truthful and non-artificial way, questioning the validity of historical reconstructions. The more faithful and credible such representations are, the better they are perceived to be – by contrast, costume dramas have been disaparaged as irreal and fantastic tales; as such historical films express the connection between the idea of Europe, quality and authenticity.

Similarly, in Chapter 4, quality was discussed in relation to the production contexts of the films examined. In the films set in the present, art was associated with key filmmakers, European and international *auteurs*, although their work has also been seen as a sell-out, as in the case of Woody Allen's box-office hit *Match Point*. At the same time, this and films such as *Paris je t'aime* and *All About My Mother* explored the tension between art and commerce in their depiction of tourism and tourists, as well as in their construction of European cities as visitor attractions.

Contemporary cinema often depicts the story of a visitor arriving in a new place. Movement, transport and mobility are central notions to contemporary Europe – it is thus unsurprising that Schengen and Erasmus are two of the best-known EU initiatives. In Chapter 4, the rise of a kinetic elite in the face of an increasing number of unprivileged, mostly undocumented migrants also showed how this middlebrow Europe is being constructed on screen. European cinema presented an idea of Europe tied to commerce (tourism) and art (it is mostly cultural tourism we see represented), but it gave equal prominence to the select few that can access this space and those

individuals who remain outside of it.

In Chapter 4, authenticity was played out in relation to tourism and the clichés this activity represents, as well as in relation to the notion of citizenship. Films such as *Only Human, Ae fond kiss, The Class, Princesses* and others asked who are the true Europeans and whether these can be defined by their race, religion and language. The universal cosmopolitanism discussed above also means that while foreign and security policies ask Europe to be "serious" and build barriers, most Europeans would empathise with individuals within and beyond the continent. The migrants represented in the films examined in Chapter 4 are at the centre of these narratives and allow European spectators for identification. Hinting at the association between European cinema and feelings (developed later on), this particular chapter is thus also helpful to introduce the final opposition I wish to examine: thought vs. emotion.

The idea of Europe is rational, it is a historical and political conception, theorised by a vast body of literature as discussed in Chapter 1. Throughout the history of European culture, intellect, reason and its association with high culture seems to have been privileged to the detriment of emotion, often seen as shallow, superficial and irrational. Enlightened Europe is serious and responsible, including in relation to the rest of the world in the face of post-colonialism, as expressed by the critiques voiced by Morin[2] and Derrida[3], as well as, in the realm of cinema, by the resurgence of committed filmmaking exemplified by the work of Ken Loach and the Dardenne brothers – whose films *Ae fond kiss* and *The Silence of Lorna* respectively were analysed in Chapter 4.

Reflection also emerged as a European idea in the films examined towards the end of Chapter 3, especially as a questioning of the value of memory and history. A sense that Europe likes to think and to raise questions emerges in the films re-writing

history, from *Good Morning, Night* to *12:08 East of Bucharest*, as there is a recurring notion of having to set things straight. Similarly, much of the EU communication is to do with clarifying mistakes or misunderstandings, as in their explanation of what the European Commission calls EU myths, a number of which are discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. In contemporary European cinema, the past also often invades the present to settle accounts with it. Even though this was not an exclusive feature of art cinema, films by directors such as Andrea Arnold and Michael Haneke examined in Chapter 4 testified to the prominence of thought in European culture, bringing to the fore the notion of responsibility.

European historical films begin by pointing to an idea of knowledge (to make and then to watch a film is to want to learn about Europe) and some have an accentuated didactic function (for instance, *Sophie Scholl*, which toured in schools). Heritage films, some critics argue, are unrealistic, made for profit and have no artistic status. Rather, this thesis showed that they can also be seen as historical documents that contribute to the European citizens' knowledge of their own past. For instance, they work as museums, inviting the spectator to learn about European historical figures, such as Dutch painter Vermeer or, as in *Lady Chatterley*, about European literature. They talk about extraordinary individuals, as the biopics on Molière, Jane Austen and Edith Piaf.

Although such films do not claim to be realistic, especially as the past some of them represent is a very distant past, the fact that they are based on historical figures gives them a higher, more credible, status. But as reconstructions, they often add details that are seen as secondary for the narrative or perceived to be there only for entertainment. Romantic plots, for instance, are used in *Molière*, *Becoming Jane* and *La Vie en rose*, and are also at the core of *Girl with a Pearl Earring.* Hence, heritage

films vividly mirror the tension between thought (knowledge, facts) and emotion (spectacle, feelings).

Indeed, identities are also related to feelings. This is why, when analysing EU official documents, I looked at both the vocabulary (more objective) and the tone (generally overwhelmingly positive) used by European institutions and politicians. At the same time, the meaning of Europe is equally tied to emotions. This was clear from my analysis of the MEDIA "clips" in Chapter 2, where joy, love and sadness in 2007 and passion in 2010 and 2011 encapsulated the EU's idea of Europe. Love in particular was presented by the European Commission as a theme and feeling for European cinema, representing a wish for greater cinephilia and a sense that to be European is also to *feel* European.

Emotive Europe emerged throughout Chapters 1 to 4 as comprised of a sense of community, which paradoxically entails, also, a focus on the individual. The idea of Europe that has emerged in contemporary European cinema is characterised by a sense of humanism (a value clearly expressed in the Declaration on European Identity), that is, by a focus on what constitutes human nature and what links individuals across the world. Films such as *Merry Christmas*, *Sophie Scholl* and *Black Book*, for instance, were concerned with the reactions of individuals in the face of adversity, as *Black Book* was centred on human flaws. The rising number of biopics emerging in Europe also testifies to the focus contemporary society places on singular human beings. Artists, heroes and anti-heroes featured in a cinema that adapted European history to personal memories. This personal dimension allows people to connect and empathise with Europe, at the same time as it shows individuals are all the same. Just as the national is used to explore the transnational, the individual is here highlighted to then represent humanity. Emotion is thus also

tied to cosmopolitanism – another link between the three dialectical tensions I have been exploring.

At the same time, in films such as *Girl with a Pearl Earring* and others examined in Chapter 3, emotions come into play through a commemorative tone, as glorification is framed by spectacular images and often overwhelmingly positive feelings that compel spectators to identify with, rather than question, the stories and characters represented on screen. European historical films become a form of entertainment as well as passion. Visual spectacle adds to the commodification I discussed above, with emotion and commerce thus constituting the key terms targeted by critiques of the heritage genre.

Europe's actual space, not just its stories and their protagonists, is also to be liked. Tourists visit and breathe the European metropolis, inhale it, sense its atmosphere and mood, for instance in walks through cities such as Paris and London. But as Chapter 4 follows Chapter 3 in having a positive and a negative section, we see the reverse of this side of Europe. A Europe of emotions is defined by its humanism – receiving the other as an equal, as well as questioning unfair inequalities, which are especially visible in films about ethnic minorities, linguistic and religious differences, as well as migrants.

I have presented the national and the transnational, art and commerce and thought and emotion as dialogical pairs, but the tensions between them are slightly imbalanced, as some terms have more weight than others. The transnational, for instance, appears as more important than the nation for the idea of Europe, especially as it is so highly valued in contemporary culture. Even if European states and national cinemas continue to play an important part in the study of Europe and European film, it is undeniable that Europe is not a nation and that in fact a need to

go beyond the nation is inherent to its essence.

In the opposition between art and commerce, despite the importance the economic and financial sectors have achieved in today's world, it is culture that appears as the most valued term. Quality, prestige and exclusivity have a greater weight in discussions about the idea of Europe and European cinema than economic success. The way in which the EU, criticised for lacking in legitimacy, addresses those who fall beyond what have traditionally been seen as European elites is by moving the idea of Europe and the positioning of its cinema from an intellectual to an emotional tone – which brings me back to the final tension examined here.

Historically, Europe has been labelled the continent of philosophy, certainly of thinking. But in recent years, in order to bring its peoples together, the EU has been sponsoring a vague, albeit complex, idea of Europe, that is essentially an emotional one. In the face of rational thought and reflection, emotion has, perhaps surprisingly, been gaining currency. For instance, it is the circulation, rather than the production of European cinema that has been sponsored by the MEDIA programme, which main goal thus appears to be the creation not of European cinematic topics but of a transnational European audience. The cultural sector will always allow for a fruitful debate on ideas of Europe, but the major concern of contemporary EU initiatives in support of the arts and the audiovisual in particular seems to be participation. At the start of the 21st century, the EU's idea of Europe is not about ideas but about feelings – and rather than dismissed as subjective, these preserve their quality because of their perceived prestige and, in the case of film, artistic value.

Europe is transformed from a "serious" into a "passionate" continent, in the same way that the European integration process is to be appreciated rather than understood and European cinema should, from the point of view of European

institutions, be experienced rather than examined. Testifying to a shift from the macro to the micro, from the social to the individual, the EU's idea of Europe that emerges in European cinema stresses its transnational as well as prestigious character, at the same time as it grants space for a dialogical understanding of the continent, and especially, for an emotional connection to it.

Endnotes

[1] Edgar Morin, *Penser L'Europe* (Paris: Gallimardi, 1987), 147
[2] Ibid.
[3] Jacques Derrida, *The Other Heading*, trans. Pascalle-Anne Bault and Michael B. Naas (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 14

BIBLIOGRAPHY

'Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission'. 2005. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/communication/about/what_we_do/index_en.htm Accessed 20/10/09.

'As Rapidinhas da Comissão Europeia'. *Diário de Notícias*. 04/07/07. Online. http://dn.sapo.pt/Inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=660555 Accessed 15/12/09.

'Bellocchio, deluso, se ne va: "Il mio successo? Consenso di giovani e pubblico"'. *La Stampa,* 7 September 2003. Online. http://archivio.lastampa.it/LaStampaArchivio/main/History/tmpl_viewObj.jsp?objid=4680558 Accessed 27/09/10.

'Breaking the Language barrier'. *Screen International* 1535, 10 February 2006: 17.

'Commission proposes "European Heritage" Label'. Online. http://www.euractiv.com/en/culture/commission-proposes-european-heritage-label-news-326066 Accessed 29/03/10.

'Declaration on European Identity'. *Bulletin of the European Communities* 12 (December 1973): 118-122.

'Do not get confused'. Online. http://www.coe.int/aboutcoe/index.asp?page=nepasconfondre&l=en Accessed 07/01/10.

'Ecco EUtube, i video online della Commissione Europea'. *La Stampa*. 03/07/07. Online. http://www.lastampa.it/_web/cmstp/tmplrubriche/tecnologia/grubrica.asp?ID_blog=30&ID_articolo=2688&ID_sezione=38&sezione=News Accessed 15/12/09.

'El 'erótico' y polémico estreno de EUTube'. *El Mundo*. 03/07/07. Online. http://www.elmundo.es/navegante/2007/07/03/tecnologia/1183473853.html Accessed 15/12/09.

'EU promotional clip is softporn'. 2007. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/communication/take_part/myths/fact_053_en.htm Accessed 19/10/09.

'Eurostar and the europudding'. Interview by Xan Brooks. *Guardian*. May 2003. Online. http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2003/may/08/features.xanbrooks Accessed 31/07/09.

'Interview with Daniel Burlac'. 08/01/07. Online.

http://cineuropa.org/ffocusinterview.aspx?lang=en&treeID=1313&documentID=65820 Accessed 24/08/10.

'It's red faces all round over EU's dirty movie'. *Daily Mail*. 02/07/07. Online. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-465509/Its-red-faces-round-EUs-dirty-movie.html Accessed 15/12/09.

'Let's go on the Amelie's tour!', 21/08/09. Online. http://europe.eurostar.com/2009/08/21/lets-go-on-the-amelies-tour/ Accessed 08/11/10.

'L'Unione europea sbarca su You Tube, ma è polemica per un filmato a luci rosse'. *Il Sole 24 Ore*. 02/07/07. Online. http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/Tecnologia%20e%20Business/2007/07/ue-youtube.shtml?uuid=9f9c3474-2888-11dc-98e1-00000e25108c&DocRulesView=Libero Accessed 15/12/09.

'MEDIA – Overview'. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media/overview/index_en.htm Accessed 29/12/09.

'Myths and Rumours debunked'. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/communication/take_part/myths_en.htm. Accessed 13/04/12.

'On EU Tube (LOL!), Sex Sells (Duh!)'. *The New York Times*. 11/07/07. Online. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/11/arts/television/11ridi.html?_r=2 Accessed 15/12/09.

'Polémica en la Eurocámara por la promoción del cine europeo con un vídeo erótico'. *ABC*. 04/07/07. Online. http://www.abc.es/hemeroteca/historico-04-07-2007/abc/Espectaculos/polemica-en-la-eurocamara-por-la-promocion-del-cine-europeo-con-un-video-erotico_1634067401688.html Accessed 15/12/09.

'Report by the Committee on a People's Europe submitted to the Milan European Council (Milan, 28 and 29 June 1985)'. In *Bulletin of the European Economic Community*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985. Online. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/Report_by_the_Committee_on_a_People_s_Europe_submitted_to_the_Milan_European_Council_Milan_28_and_29_June_1985-en-b6f17ee2-da21-4013-9573-c2b159f86ff5.html. Accessed 26/09/11.

'Report on a People's Europe (29 March 1985)'. *Bulletin of the European Economic Community*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European

Communities, 1985. Online. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/Report_on_a_People_s_Europe_29_March_1985-en-e5da4b30-6c79-483c-94bb-96b0fe0c6579.html. Accessed 26/09/11.

'Sesso a volontà per il cinema europeo'. *La Stampa*. 03/07/07. Online. http://www.lastampa.it/redazione/cmsSezioni/societa/200707articoli/23299girata.asp Accessed 15/12/09.

'Sexy clip lifts EU YouTube debut'. *BBC News*. 03/07/07. Online. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6263430.stm?lsm Accessed 15/12/09.

'Spot erotico della Ue per il cinema europeo'. *Corriere della Sera*. 03/07/07. Online. http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Esteri/2007/07_Luglio/02/Ue_spot_sexy.shtml Accessed 15/12/09.

'Steamy clip turns up the heat on EU'. *Variety*. 06/07/07. Online. http://www.variety.com/article/VR1117968165.html?categoryid=2526&cs=1 Accessed 15/12/09.

'The Caché Dossier'. *Screen* 48:2 (Summer 2007): 211-249.

'What is the EU's sex film really selling?'. *Guardian.* 05/07/07. Online. http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/filmblog/2007/jul/05/whatistheeussexfilmreallysellin g Accessed 15/12/09.

Af Malmborg, Mikael and Bo Stråth. *The Meaning of Europe: variety and contention within and among nations*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002.

Aitken, Ian. 'The European realist tradition'. In *Studies in European Cinema* 3:3 (2006): 175-188.

Aitken, Ian. *European film theory and cinema: a critical introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism.* Revised Edition. London; New York: Verso, 2006 [1983].

Andrew, Dudley. Foreword to *Global art cinema*, edited by Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover, iii-xi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Andrew, J. Dudley. *Mists of regret: culture and sensibility in classic French film*. Princeton; Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. London: Penguin Books, 2007.

Archibugi, Daniele. 'The Language of Democracy: Vernacular or Esperanto? A Comparison of the Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitan Perspectives'. In

Cosmopolitanism and Europe, edited by Chris Rumford, 142-157. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007.

Augé, Marc. 'Paris and the Ethnography of the Contemporary World'. In *Parisian Fields*, edited by Michael Sheringham, 175-179. London: Reaktion Books, 1996.

Bagnasco, Arnaldo and Patrick Le Galès (eds.). *Cities in Contemporary Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Balibar, Étienne. *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Barber, Stephen. *Projected Cities*. London: Reaktion, 2002.

Barroso, José Manuel Durão. 'Identidade Europeia/Identidades na Europa'. In *Identidade Europeia, Identidades na Europa*, edited by Isabel Capeloa Gil, 17-25. Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2009.

Baschiera, Stefano and Laura Rascaroli. 'Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester'. In *La Ville au Cinéma*, edited by Thierry Jousse and Thierry Paquot, 389-394. Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 2005.

Beardsworth, Liz. 'Becoming Jane'. In *Empire* 214 (2007): 56.

Beck, Ulrich and Edgar Grande. *Cosmopolitan Europe*, translated by Ciaran Cronin. Cambridge: Polity, 2008.

Bennett, Rab. *Under the Shadow of the Swastika – The Moral Dilemmas of Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Europe*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999.

Berezin, Mabel and Martin Schain (eds.). *Europe without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in a Transnational Age*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Berezin, Mabel. 'Introduction: Territory, Emotion and Identity – Spatial Recalibration in a New Europe'. In *Europe without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in a Transnational Age*, edited by Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain, 1-30. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Bergfelder, Tim, Sue Harris and Sarah Street. *Film architecture and the transnational imagination: set design in 1930s European cinema*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

Bergfelder, Tim. "Contemporary European Cinema: From the Transnational to the Cosmopolitan". Keynote speech given at the "European Cinema Today: Transnational, Transmedial, Transcultural" Conference, University College Cork,

Ireland, 14-15 May 2010.

Bergfelder, Tim. *International adventures: German popular cinema and European co-productions in the 1960s*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2005.

Berghahn, Daniela and Claudia Sternberg (eds.). *European cinema in motion: migrant and diasporic film in contemporary Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Berghahn, Daniela. 'No place like home? Or impossible homecomings in the films of Fatih Akın'. In *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 4:3 (2006): 141–157.

Betz, Mark. *Beyond the subtitle: remapping European art cinema*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press; London, 2009.

Binétruy, Pascal. 'La chute de la maison histoire: *Lady Chatterley* et une certe tendance de l'adaptation'. In *Positif* 563 (2008): 57-61.

Blum-Reid, Sylvie. 'Away from home? Two French Directors in Search of their Identity'. In *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 29:1 (2009): 1-9.

Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia.* New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Bradshaw, Peter. 'Missing in action'. In *The Guardian*, 22 June 2007: 9.

Brown, William, Dina Iordanova and Leshu Torchin. *Moving People, Moving Images: Cinema and Trafficking in the New Europe*. St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 2010.

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 'Beyond Identity'. In Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without groups*, 28-63. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2006 [2004].

Brunsdon, Charlotte. *London in Cinema – The Cinematic City Since 1945*. London: BFI, 2007.

Bruter, Michael. *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Buch, Esteban. 'Parcours et paradoxes de l'hymne européen'. In *Figures d'Europe. Images and Myths of Europe*, edited by Luisa Passerini, 87-98. Brussels: P.I.E. – Peter Lang, 2003.

Bugge, Peter. 'A European Cultural Heritage? Reflections on a Concept and a Programme'. In *Rethinking Heritage – Cultures and Politics in Europe*, edited by Robert S. Peckham, 61-73. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Burgess, J. Peter. 'What's so European about the European Union?: legitimacy between Institution and Identity'. In *European Journal of Social Theory* 5:4 (2002):

467-481.

Burke, Andrew. 'Concrete universality: Tower blocks, architectural modernism and realism in contemporary British cinema'. In *New Cinemas* 5:3 (December 2007): 177-188.

Burt, Richard. 'Becoming literary, becoming historical: the scale of female authorship in *Becoming Jane*'. In *Adaptation* 1:1 (2008): 58-62.

Cameron, Colin. 'The London of "Match Point"'. In *The New York Times* (7 February 2006). Online. http://travel2.nytimes.com/2006/02/07/travel/08weblondon.html Accessed 24/10/10.

Casado, Miguel Angel. 'EU Media Programmes: Little Investment, Few Results'. In *European film and media culture*, edited by Lennard Højbjerg and Henrik Søndergaard, 37-61. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press and University of Copenhagen, 2006.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. and Peter J. Katzenstein (eds.). *European Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Christensen, Miyase and Nezih Erdogan (eds.). *Shifting Landscapes – Film and Media in the European Context*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.

Christensen, Miyase and Nezih Erdoğan. 'Introduction – The Many Faces of Film and Media in Europe'. In *Shifting Landscapes – Film and Media in the European Context*, edited by Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdoğan, 1-11. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.

Christensen, Miyase. 'Rethinking European Media Landscapes: *D'où venons nous? Que sommes-nous? Où allons-nous*?'. In *Shifting landscapes: film and media in the European context*, edited by Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdoğan, 109-129. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008.

Cockrell, Eddie. 'Good Bye Lenin!'. In *Variety* 390:1 (17 Feb – 23 Feb 2003): 42.

Collins, Richard. *Broadcasting and audio-visual policy in the European single market*. London: Libbey, 1994.

Commission of the European Communities. *Action Programme to Promote the Development of the European Audiovisual Industry "Media" 1991-1995*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, 1990.

Commission of the European Communities. *The audio-visual media in the single European market*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1988.

Commission of the European Communities. *The European Community Policy in the audiovisual field – Legal and Political Texts*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1990.

Conference on the Future of Cinema and the Audiovisual Sector within the Framework of European Union Enlargement. Thessaloniki, 25-27 May 2003. In *From Cultural Diversity to a European Identity*. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2003.

Cook, Pam. *Screening the Past – Memory and Nostalgia in Cinema*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005.

Cooke, Paul and Rob Stone. 'Editorial: Screening Europe: Contemporary Reconfigurations of European Cinema'. In *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 15:1 (2007): 1-3.

Cooke, Paul and Rob Stone. 'Editorial: Screening Identities at and Beyond Europe's Borders'. In *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 4:2 (2006): 79-82.

Cooke, Paul and Rob Stone. 'Introduction: dialogues with Hollywood'. In *Studies in European Cinema* 1:2 (2004): 73-75.

Coopers and Lybrand. *The distribution game: can Europe even the score?* UK: Coopers and Lybrand, 1993.

Coustalot, Ghislain. 'Interview with Christian Carion'. In *Première* 345 (2005): 19-20.

Crook, Simon. 'Joyeux Noël'. In *Empire* 199 (2006): 57.

Custen, George F. *Bio/Pics – How Hollywood Constructed Public History*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Dale, Martin. *Europa, Europa: developing the European film industry*. Paris: Académie Carat and MEDIA Business School, 1992.

Dale, Martin. *The movie game: the film business in Britain, Europe and America*. London: Cassell, 1997.

Daney, Serge. *Postcards from the Cinema*, translated by Paul Douglas Grant. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2007 [1994].

D'Appollonia, Ariane Chebel. 'European Nationalism and European Union'. In *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, edited by Anthony Pagden, 171-190. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Darke, Chris. 'Paris je t'aime' (review). In *Sight and Sound* 17:7 (2007): 66-68.

Delanty, Gerard. 'What does it mean to be a "European"?'. In *Innovation: The*

European Journal of Social Science Research 18:1 (2005): 11-22.

Delanty, Gerard. *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1995.

Deltcheva, Roumiana. 'Reliving the Past in Recent East European Cinemas'. In *East European Cinemas*, edited by Anikó Imre, 197-211. New York and London: Routledge, 2005.

Derrida, Jacques. *The Other Heading: Reflections on today's Europe*, translated by Pascalle-Anne Bault and Michael B. Naas. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Dickinson, Margaret and Sarah Street. *Cinema and state: the film industry and the government 1927-1984*. London: BFI, 1985.

Donald, Stephanie Hemelryk, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin (eds.). *Branding cities: cosmopolitanism, parochialism and social change*. New York; London: Routledge, 2009.

Duchesne, Sophie and André-Paul Froigner. 'Is There a European Identity?'. In *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance*, edited by Oskar Niedermayer and Richard Sinnott, 193-226. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Dyer, Richard and Ginette Vincendeau (eds.). *Popular European cinema*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Dyer, Richard. 'Heritage Cinema in Europe'. In *Encyclopedia of European Cinema*, edited by Ginette Vincendeau, 204-205. London: Cassell, 1995.

EAO. 'EU film production reached record high in 2008 as admissions to European films remained strong'. Online. http://www.obs.coe.int/about/oea/pr/mif2009_cinema.html Accessed 13/01/10.

Eleftheriotis, Dimitris. *Popular cinemas of Europe: studies of texts, contexts, and frameworks*. New York; London: Continuum, 2001.

Elsaesser, Thomas. 'European Cinema in the 21st Century: Enlarging the Context'. Keynote speech given at "The Europeanness of European Cinema" Conference, King's College London, UK, 4 June 2010.

Elsaesser, Thomas. 'Subject positions, speaking positions: from *Holocaust, our Hitler* and *Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*'. In *The Persistence of History – Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, edited by Vivian Sobchack, 145-184. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Elsaesser, Thomas. *European cinema: face to face with Hollywood*. Amsterdam:

Amsterdam University Press, 2005.

Erdoğan, Nezih. 'Star director as symptom: reflections on the reception of Fatih Akın in the Turkish media'. In *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 7:1 (2009): 27-38.

Esbenshade, Richard S. 'Remembering to Forget: Memory, History, National Identity in Postwar East-Central Europe'. In *Representations* 49, Special Issue: Identifying Histories: Eastern Europe Before and After 1989 (Winter 1995): 72-96.

European Commission, DG-EAC. 'About the Year'. Online. http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/ Accessed 13/01/11.

European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy. 'Promoting Sustainable Urban Development in Europe – Achievements and Opportunities'. Brussels: European Communities, 2009.

European Commission. 'Guide to the Urban Dimension in European Union Policies (2010)'. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/guides/urban/index_en.htm Accessed 27/12/10.

European Commission. 'The ERASMUS Programme – Studying in Europe and more'. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc80_en.htm Accessed 18/12/10.

European Commission. 'The EU at the forefront of international efforts'. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/brief/eu/index_en.htm Accessed 10/04/11.

Evans, Owen. 'Border Exchanges: The Role of the European Film Festival'. In *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 15:1 (2007): 23–33.

Everett, Wendy (ed.). *European identity in cinema*. Bristol: Intellect, 2005.

Everett, Wendy and Axel Goodbody (eds.). *Revisiting space: space and place in European cinema*. Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005.

Everett, Wendy. 'Re-framing the fingerprints: a short survey of European film'. In *European identity in cinema*, edited by Wendy Everett, 15-34. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2005 [1996].

Ezra, Elizabeth (ed.). *European cinema*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Ezra, Elizabeth and Antonio Sánchez. '*L'Auberge espagnole* (2002): transnational departure or domestic crash landing?'. In *Studies in European Cinema* 2:2 (2005): 137–148.

Ezra, Elizabeth and Terry Rowden (eds.). *Transnational cinema: the film reader*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Finney, Angus. *The state of European cinema: a new dose of reality*. London: Cassell, 1996.

Fisher, William. 'Let them eat Europudding!'. In *Sight and Sound* 59:4 (1990): 224-227.

Forbes, Jill and Sarah Street (eds.). *European cinema: an introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.

Fornäs, Johan. *Signifying Europe*. Bristol: Intellect, 2012.

Fowler, Catherine (ed.). *The European cinema reader*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Frasca, Giampero. 'Dialoghi di Frontiera – Campo e Controcampo'. In *Cineforum* 479 (November 2008): 2-4.

Fuller, Graham. 'Court jester'. In *Sight and Sound* 16:1 (2006): 14-18.

Galt, Rosalind. *The new European cinema: redrawing the map*. New York, N.Y.; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Gant, Charles. 'The power of Pedro'. In *Sight and Sound* 16:10 (2006): 8.

García, Soledad. 'Europe's Fragmented Identities and the Frontiers of Citizenship'. In *European Identity and the Search for legitimacy*, edited by Soledad García, 1-29. London; New York: Pinter for The Eleni Nakou Foundation and The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1993.

Gil, Isabel Capeloa (ed.). *Identidade Europeia – Identidades na Europa*. Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2009.

Glasgow Development Agency. 'Glasgow 1990 – European City of Culture'. Online. http://www.ecoc-doc-athens.eu/glasgow-home/the-organisation.html Accessed 07/01/11.

Goldberg, David, Tony Prosser and Stefaan Verhulst. *EC media law and policy*. Harlow: Longman, 1998.

Güell, Maria. 'Barcelona según el cine'. In *ABC* (17 February 2008).

Guider, Elizabeth. '"Notte" opens eyes at Venice Fest'. In *Variety,* 5 September 2003. Online. http://www.variety.com/article/VR1117891950.html?categoryid=1236&cs=1 Accessed 26/09/10.

Haastrup, Helle Kannik. 'Popular European Art Film: Challenging Narratives and Engaging Characters'. In *European Film and Media Culture*, edited by Lennard

Højbjerg and Henrik Søndergaard, 263-283. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press and University of Copenhagen, 2006.

Habermas, Jürgen. 'Why Europe needs a Constitution'. In *New Left Review* 11 (Sep-Oct 2001): 5-26.

Hainsworth, Paul. 'Politics, Culture and Cinema in the New Europe'. In *Border crossing: film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*, edited by John Hill, Martin McLoone and Paul Hainsworth, 8-33. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies in association with the University of Ulster and the British Film Institute, 1994.

Halfyard, Janet K. 'Screen playing: cinematic representations of classical music performance and European identity'. In *European Film Music*, edited by Miguel Mera and David Burnand, 73-85. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Hall, Stuart. 'In But Not of Europe: Europe and Its Myths'. In *Figures d'Europe. Images and Myths of Europe*, edited by Luisa Passerini, 35-46. Brussels: P.I.E. – Peter Lang, 2003.

Halle, Randall. 'German Film, *Aufgehoben*: Ensembles of Transnational Cinema'. In *New German Critique* 87 (2002): 1-48.

Halle, Randall. 'German film, European film: transnational production, distribution and reception'. In *Screen* 47:2 (2006): 251-259.

Hannam, Kevin, Mimi Sheller and John Urry. 'Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings'. In *Mobilities* 1:1 (March 2006): 1-22.

Hasted, Nick. 'Maestros and Mobsters'. In *Sight and Sound* 20:5 (2010): 25-27.

Hay, Dennis. *Europe: the emergence of an idea*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957.

Hayward, Susan. 'The City as Narrative: Corporeal Paris in Contemporary French Cinema 1950-1990'. In *Spaces in European Cinema*, edited by Myrto Konstantarakos, 23-34. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000.

Hedling, Olof. 'Possibilities of stardom in European cinema culture'. In *Stellar Encounters: Stardom in Popular European Cinema*, edited by Tytti Soila, 254-264. Herts: John Libbey, 2009.

Herold, Anna. *European film policies in EU and international law: culture and trade-marriage or misalliance*. Groningen: Europa Law Pub., 2010.

Herrmann, Richard K, Thomas Risse, and Marilynn B Brewer (eds.). *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*. Lanham, Md.; Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

Higson, Andrew and Richard Maltby (eds.). *"Film Europe" and "Film America": cinema, commerce and cultural exchange, 1920-1939*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999.

Higson, Andrew. 'Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film'. In *Fires were started: British Cinema and Tatcherism*, edited by Lester Friedman, 109-129. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press and UCL Press, 1993.

Hill, John, Martin McLoone and Paul Hainsworth (eds.). *Border crossing: film in Ireland, Britain and Europe.* Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies in association with the University of Ulster and the British Film Institute, 1994.

Hill, John. *British Cinema in the 1980s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Age of Extremes – The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, 1994.

Hofmann, Katja. 'Cultural ID Check'. In *Variety* 401 (2005): A1-A2.

Højbjerg, Lennard and Henrik Søndergaard (eds.). *European Film and Media Culture*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press and University of Copenhagen, 2006.

Holmes, Diana and Alison Smith (eds.). *100 years of European cinema: entertainment or ideology?*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Hoskins, Andrew. 'New Memory: Mediating History'. In *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. 21:4 (2004): 303-346.

Ilott, Terry. *Budgets and markets: a study of the budgeting of European film.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Iordanova, Dina and Regan Rhyne (eds.). *The Festival Circuit.* St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2009.

Iordanova, Dina and Ruby Cheung (eds.). *Film Festivals and Imagined Communities*. St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2010.

Iordanova, Dina. 'Migration and Cinematic Process in Post-Cold War Europe'. In *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Film in Contemporary Europe*, edited by Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, 50-75. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency. 'Why Istanbul?'. Online. http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/2010AKBAJANSI/hakk%C4%B1nda/index.htm Accessed 20/12/10.

Jäckel, Anne. *European Film Industries*. London: BFI, 2003.

Jousse, Thierry and Thierry Paquot (eds.). *La Ville au Cinéma*. Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 2005.

Kaelble, Hartmut. 'European Symbols, 1945-2000: Concept, Meaning and Historical Change'. In *Figures d'Europe. Images and Myths of Europe*, edited by Luisa Passerini, 47-61. Brussels: P.I.E. – Peter Lang, 2003.

Kaiser, Wolfram. *Christian Democracy and the origins of European union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Kirschbaum, Eirk. 'Flying the Euro Film Flag'. In *Variety* 408 (2007): A8-A11.

Kohli, Martin, 'The Battlegrounds of European Identity' in *European Societies* 2:2 (2000): 113-137.

Konstantarakos, Myrto (ed.). *Spaces in European cinema*. Exeter: Intellect, 2000.

Kumar, Krishan. 'The Idea of Europe – Cultural Legacies, Transnational Imaginings and the Nation-State'. In *Europe Without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in a Transnational Age*, edited by Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain, 33-50. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Landy, Marcia. 'Looking Backward: History and Thatcherism in the Recent British Cinema'. In *Film Criticism* 15:1 (1990): 17-38.

Lang, Jack. 'Letter [to Melina Mercouri] – Documentation Centre on European Capitals of Culture'. Online. http://www.ecoc-doc-athens.eu/athens-home/the-organisation.html. Accessed 20/12/10.

Lázaro-Reboll, Antonio and Andrew Willis (eds.). *Spanish Popular Cinema.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004

Le Galès, Patrick. *European Cities: Social Conflicts and Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Le Goff, Jacques. *History and memory.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Lebas, Elizabeth. 'Sadness and Gladness: The Films of Glasgow Corporation, 1922–1938'. In *Film Studies* 6 (Summer 2005): 27-45.

Lemairé, Yannick. 'Woody Allen et l'Europe: lieu commun'. In *Positif* 572 (October 2008): 9-12.

Llobera, Joseph, 'The Role of the State and the Nation in Europe'. In *European Identity and the Search for Legitimacy*, edited by Soledad García, 65-80. London; New York: Pinter for The Eleni Nakou Foundation and The Royal Institute of

International Affairs, 1993.

Loshitzky, Yosefa. *Screening strangers: migration and diaspora in contemporary European cinema*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010.

MacCannell, Dean. *The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*. 2nd Edition. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, 1999.

Marshall, Lee. 'Breaking the Rules'. In *Screen International* 1599 (8 June 2007): 31.

Martin-Jones, David. *Scotland: Global Cinema: Genres, Modes and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Matloff, Jason. 'Woody Allen's European Vacation' (Interview). In *Premiere* 19:5 (February 2006): 98-101.

Mayer, Franz C. and Jan Palmowski. 'European Identities and the EU – The Ties that Bind the Peoples of Europe'. In *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:3 (2004): 573-598.

Mazdon, Lucy (ed.). *France on film: reflections on popular French cinema*. London: Wallflower, 2001.

Mazierska, Ewa and Laura Rascaroli. *From Moscow to Madrid: postmodern cities, European cinema*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Monk, Claire. 'Sexuality and Heritage'. In *Film/Literature/Heritage – A Sight and Sound Reader,* edited by Ginette Vincendeau, 6-11. London: BFI, 2001.

Monterde, José Enrique. 'Un Panorama del Cine Europeo – Tendencias de la industria cinematográfica europea actual'. In *Derivas del Cine Europeo Contemporáneo,* edited by Domènec Font and Carlos Losilla, 105–117. Valencia: Institut Valencià de Cinematografia Ricardo Muñoz Suay, 2007.

Morin, Edgar. *Penser L'europe*. Paris: Gallimardi, 1987.

Morlan, Albert (ed.). *Film policy: international, national and regional perspectives*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Morrison, Alan. 'Paris je t'aime' (review). In *Empire* 217 (July 2007): 49.

Mottram, James. 'In the mood for love'. In *Sight and Sound* 14: 3 (2004): 22-23.

Naficy, Hamid. *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Naremore, James. 'Films of the Year, 2007'. In *Film Quarterly* 61:4 (2008): 48-61.

Nathan, Ian. 'Black Book'. In *Empire* 212 (2007): 46.

Negra, Diane. 'Romance and/as Tourism: Heritage Whiteness and the (Inter)National Imaginary in the New Women's film'. In *Transnational Cinema: the Film Reader*,

edited by Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden, 169-180. London: Routledge, 2006.

Neyrat, Cyril. 'Sophie Scholl'. In *Cahiers du Cinéma* 611 (2006): 60-61.

Nora, Pierre. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire'. In *Representations* 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 7-24.

Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey and Steven Ricci (eds.). *Hollywood and Europe: economics, culture, national identity 1945-95*. London: BFI Publishing, 1998.

O'Leary, Alan. 'Dead Man Walking: The Aldo Moro kidnap and Palimpsest History in *Buongiorno, notte*'. In *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 6:1 (2008): 33–45.

O'Shaughnessy, Martin. *The New Face of Political Cinema: Commitment in French Film since 1995*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2007.

Pagden, Anthony (ed.). *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Paris, Michael (ed.). *The First World War and Popular Cinema – 1914 to the Present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Passerini, Luisa (ed.). *Figures d'Europe. Images and Myths of Europe.* Brussels: P.I.E. – Peter Lang, 2003.

Passerini, Luisa, Jo Labanyi and Karen Diehl (eds). *Europe and Love in Cinema*. Bristol: Intellect, 2012.

Passerini, Luisa. 'Dimensions of the Symbolic in the Construction of Europeanness'. In *Figures d'Europe. Images and Myths of Europe*, edited by Luisa Passerini, 21-33. Brussels: P.I.E. – Peter Lang, 2003.

Passerini, Luisa. 'From the Ironies of Identity to the Identities of Irony'. In *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, edited by Anthony Pagden, 191-208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Passerini, Luisa. *Europe in Love, Love in Europe – Imagination and Politics in Britain between the Wars*. London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999.

Peckham, Robert Shannan (ed.). *Rethinking Heritage – Cultures and Politics in Europe*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Peckham, Robert Shannan. 'Mourning heritage: memory, trauma and restitution'. In *Rethinking Heritage – Cultures and Politics in Europe*, edited by Robert Shannan Peckam, 205-214. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Petek, Polona. 'Enabling collisions: Re-thinking multiculturalism through Fatih Akın's *Gegen die Wand/Head On*'. In *Studies in European Cinema* 4:3 (2007): 177–

186.

Petrie, Duncan (ed.). *Screening Europe: image and identity in contemporary European cinema*. London: BFI, 1992.

Phillips, Alastair. *City of darkness, city of light: émigré filmmakers in Paris 1929-1939.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004.

Reding, Viviane. European Commissioner responsible for Education and Culture. Speech given at the 'Conference on the Future of Cinema and the Audiovisual Sector within the framework of European Union Enlargement'. Thessaloniki, 25-27 May 2003. In *From Cultural Diversity to a European Identity*, 13. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2003.

Retico, Alessandra. 'Bellocchio: "Non è un film storico ho raccontato Moro e i terroristi"'. In *La Repubblica*, 4 September 2003. Online. http://www.repubblica.it/2003/i/sezioni/spettacoli_e_cultura/cinema/venezia/bellocchio/bellocchio/bellocchio.html?ref=search Accessed 25/09/10.

Rinaldi, Giorgio. 'Paris je t'aime' (review). In *Cineforum* 456 (July 2007): 62-63.

Riotta, Gianni. 'Umberto Eco: "It's culture, not war, that cements European identity"'. In *The Guardian*, 26 January 2012. Online. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jan/26/umberto-eco-culture-war-europa Accessed 04/04/12.

Rivi, Luisa. *European cinema after 1989: cultural identity and transnational production*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Roberts, Graham and Dorota Ostrowska. *European cinemas in the television age*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

Roberts, Graham. 'East meets West: Mapping the New Europe in Yuri Mamin's *A Window to Paris'*. In *Spaces in European Cinema*, edited by Myrto Konstantarakos, 178-188. Exeter: Intellect, 2000.

Roberts, Les. 'Projecting Place: Location Mapping, Consumption and Cinematographic Tourism'. In *The city and the moving image: urban projections*, edited by Richard Koeck and Les Roberts, 183-204. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Roddick, Nick. 'Eastern Promises'. In *Sight and Sound* 17:10 (2007): 36-39.

Rodríguez, Encarnación Gutiérrez. 'Transculturation in German and Spanish Migrant and Diasporic Cinema: On Constrained Spaces and Minor Intimacies in *Princesses* and *A Little Bit of Freedom*'. In *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic*

Film in Contemporary Europe, edited by Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, 114-131. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Rosenstone, Robert A. *History on Film/Film on History*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2006.

Rumford, Chris (ed.). *Cosmopolitanism and Europe*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007.

Rumford, Chris. 'Cosmopolitanism and Europe' [editorial]. In *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 18:1 (2005): 1-9.

Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory*. *Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. London; New York: Verso, 1994.

Sassatelli, Monica. *Becoming Europeans: cultural identity and cultural politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Sassen, Saskia. 'The Numbers and the Passions are Not New'. In *Third Text* 20:6 (2006): 635-645.

Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. 2nd Edition. Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Schlesinger, Philip. 'From cultural defence to political culture: media, politics and collective identity in the European Union'. In *Media, Culture & Society* 19 (1997): 369-391.

Schmitz, Helmut (ed.). *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present.* Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2007.

Schwartz, Vanessa R. *It's so French!: Hollywood, Paris and the Making of Cosmopolitan Film Culture*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Schwartz, Vanessa. Lecture on *La Vie en rose* to Graduate Seminar on 'French Cinema: History, Ideology and Politics', King's College London, 16 March 2009.

Scicluna, Nicole. 'When Failure isn't Failure: European Union Constitutionalism after the Lisbon Treaty'. In *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* (2012): 1-16.

Shiel, Mark and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds.). *Screening the City*. London: Verso, 2003.

Shiel, Mark. 'Branding the Modernist Metropolis: The Eternal City and the City of Lights in Cinema after World War II'. In *Branding cities: cosmopolitanism, parochialism and social change,* edited by Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin, 105-122. New York; London: Routledge, 2009.

Shohat, Ella and Robert Stam (eds.). *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality, and Transnational Media*. New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Rutgers University Press,

2003.

Shore, Chris. '"In uno plures"(?) EU Cultural Policy and the Governance of Europe'. In *Cultural Analysis* 5 (2006): 7-26.

Shore, Chris. *Building Europe: the cultural politics of European integration.* London: Routledge, 2000.

Smith, Anthony D. 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity'. In *International Affairs* 68:1 (1992): 55-76.

Sobchack, Vivian (ed.). *The Persistence of History – Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Soila, Tytti (ed.) *Stellar Encounters: Stardom in Popular European Cinema*. Herts: John Libbey, 2009.

Sorlin, Pierre. 'Cinema and the Memory of the Great War'. In *The First World War and Popular Cinema*, edited by Michael Paris, 5-26. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Sorlin, Pierre. *European cinemas, European societies 1939-1990*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Sorlin, Pierre. *The Film in History – Restaging the Past*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980.

Spencer, Liese. 'Russian Dolls' (review). In *Sight and Sound* 16:6 (2006): 67-68.

Spiering, Menno and Michael Wintle (eds.). *Ideas of Europe since 1914: the legacy of the First World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Spinelli, Altiero. *The European Adventure: Tasks for the Enlarged Community.* London: Charles Knight & Co, 1972.

Steiner, George. *Una certa idea di Europa.* Milan: Garzanti, 2006.

Strand, Dana. '*Être et parler*: Being and speaking French in Abdellatif Kechiche's *L'Esquive* (2004) and Laurent Cantet's *Entre les murs* (2008)'. In *Studies in French Cinema* 9:3 (2009): 259–272.

Stråth, Bo. 'A European Identity – To the Historical Limits of a Concept'. In *European Journal of Social Theory* 5:4 (2002): 387-401.

Strode, Louise. 'France and EU Policy-Making on Visual Culture: New Opportunities for National Identity?'. In *France in focus: film and national identity*, edited by Elizabeth Ezra and Sue Harris, 61-75. Oxford: Berg, 2000.

TAP Portugal. 'És estudante universitário ou vais fazer Erasmus?'. Online. http://www.flytap.com/Portugal/pt/Empresa/Imprensa/EmDestaque/CampanhaEstud

antes/ Accessed 18/12/10.

Tobin, Yann. 'Paris je t'aime – L'auberge parisienne'. In *Positif* 545/546 (July/August 2006): 133.

Trifonova, Temenuga (ed.). *European film theory*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Uecker, Matthias. 'Fractured families – united countries? Family, nostalgia and nation-building in *Das Wunder von Bern* and *Goodbye Lenin!*'. In *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 5:3 (2007): 189-200.

Urry, John. *The tourist gaze*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage, 2001.

Valck, Marijke de. *Film Festivals – From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

Vanderschelden, Isabelle. *Amélie*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2007.

Vasconcelos, António-Pedro. *Report by the Think Tank on the Audiovisual Policy in the European Union*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1994.

Verve Pictures. 'Only Human' [full production notes]. Online. http://www.vervepics.com/onlyhuman.shtml Accessed 13/01/11.

Vidal, Belén. 'Classic Adaptations, Modern Reinventions: Reading the Image in the Contemporary Literary Film'. In *Screen* 43:1 (2002): 5-18.

Vidal, Belén. *Figuring the past: period film and the mannerist aesthetic*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

Vidal, Belén. *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Vincendeau, Ginette (ed.). *Encyclopedia of European Cinema*. London: Cassell, 1995.

Vincendeau, Ginette (ed.). *Film/Literature/Heritage – A Sight and Sound Reader*. London: BFI, 2001.

Vincendeau, Ginette. 'Black Book'. In *Sight and Sound* 17:2 (2007): 43-44.

Vincendeau, Ginette. 'Cinéma du look'. In *Encyclopedia of European Cinema*, edited by Ginette Vincendeau, 82-83. London: Cassell, 1995.

Vincendeau, Ginette. 'Designs on the *Banlieue*: Mathieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* (1995)'. In *French Film: Texts and Contexts*, Second Edition, edited by Susan Hayward and Ginette Vincendeau, 310-327. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Vincendeau, Ginette. 'The Rules of the Game'. In *Sight and Sound* 19:3 (2009): 34-

36.

Vincendeau, Ginette. 'Unsettling Memories'. In *Film/Literature/Heritage – A Sight and Sound Reader*, edited by Ginette Vincendeau, 27-32. London: BFI, 2001.

Vincendeau, Ginette. "Gare du Nord: from cinéma-vérité to post-modernity". Paper presented at the "In the Shadow of Empire: The Post-Imperial Urban Imaginaries of London and Paris" conference, University of Warwick, 17 May 2008.

Vincendeau, Ginette. *La Haine*. London and New York: IB Tauris, 2005.

Vincendeau, Ginette. *Stars and Stardom in French Cinema*. London and New York: Continuum, 2000.

Vivancos, Patrice. *Cinéma et Europe – Réflexions sur les politiques européennes de soutien au cinema*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000.

Voigts-Virchow, Eckart (ed.). *Janespotting and Beyond – British Heritage Retrovisions Since the Mid-1990s*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2004.

Wallström, Margot. Vice-President of the European Commission in charge of Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, 2008. '35th Anniversary of Eurobarometer'. Online. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/paris/paris_en/home.htm Accessed 24/09/11.

Wayne, Mike. *The politics in contemporary European cinema: histories, borders, diasporas*. Bristol: Intellect, 2002.

Wenders, Wim. 'Texts from the film presented at the opening of the Conference'. In *From Cultural Diversity to a European Identity*, 16. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2003.

Wheatley, Catherine. 'Lady Chatterley'. In *Sight and Sound* 17:9 (2007): 67.

Wheatley, Catherine. 'Paris' (review). In *Sight and Sound* 18:8 (2008): 74.

Williams, Linda Ruth. 'Sleeping with the enemy'. In *Sight and Sound* 17:2 (2007): 18-20.

Winter, Jay and Antoine Prost. *The Great War in History – Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Wintle, Michael (ed.). *Culture and Identity in Europe. Perceptions of divergence and unity in past and present.* Hants: Avebury, 1996.

Wintle, Michael. *The image of Europe: visualizing Europe in cartography and iconography throughout the ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Wood, Mary. 'Cultural Space as Political Metaphor: the Case of the European 'Quality' Film'. 2000. Online. http://www.mediasalles.it/crl_wood.htm Accessed

01/10/08.

Wood, Mary. *Contemporary European cinema*. London: Hodder Arnold, 2007.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. 'The Twinning of the World: Sister Cities in Geographic and Historical Perspective'. In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81:1 (March 1991): 1-31.

APPENDIX A

Timeline of most important EU dates and facts, including member-states.

	KEY EVENTS	MEMBER-STATES	
1957	The **Treaty of Rome** is signed, creating the European Community (EC)	Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, West Germany [Germany after 1990]	6
1973	*Enlargement*	Denmark, Ireland, UK	9
1979	First elections to the European Parliament are held		
1981	*Enlargement*	Greece	10
1985	Schengen Agreements are signed		
1986	*Enlargement*	Spain, Portugal	12
1986	The Single European Act, the first major revision of the Treaty of Rome, is signed		
1992	The **Maastricht Treaty** or Treaty on the European Union is signed, formally establishing the European Union (EU)		
1995	*Enlargement*	Austria, Finland, Sweden	15
1997	The Amsterdam Treaty is signed, incorporating the Schengen Agreements and creating a borderless Europe		
2002	Euro coins and notes are introduced		
2004	*Enlargement*	Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia	25
2004	The **Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe** is signed by 25 member-states		
2005	The ratification process of the Constitutional Treaty comes to an end		
2007	*Enlargement*	Bulgaria, Romania	27
2007	The **Lisbon Treaty** is signed		

APPENDIX B

Scripts of interviews conducted at the European Commission in Brussels on the 24th September 2009.

Interview 1

EACEA – The Education, Audiovisual and Cultural Executive Agency

Introduction

This interview is divided into three main sections: institutional level (EACEA and other European Commission institutions), European cinema (state of the art and films supported) and the MEDIA programme (budget and funding mechanisms).

I. Institutional level

1. Could you please explain, in general terms, what is the EACEA's mission and your role within the agency?
2. Considering the function of the EACEA within the European Commission, what would you say are the main goals it has achieved so far? What are the main problems it has encountered?
3. There was a re-structuring of DGs in 2004, when DG Information Society was expanded to include MEDIA, previously under DG EAC. EACEA was created in 2006. What are the effects of changes like this on MEDIA? Are they helpful or disruptive to the programme? Do they threaten its continuity?
4. At the Commission level, have the audiovisual industries been perceived more as a commodity or as a cultural product? Has that suffered any changes in time?
5. There are a large number of think tanks and independent conferences on the audiovisual industries in Europe. Is policy-making, at Commission level, inclusive? To what extent are people from the industry heard? How important is it to hear people working in the industry? (more, less, or the same than when MEDIA started being implemented, including during the programme's experimental phase?)

II. European cinema: state of the art and films supported

6. Has the "need" for MEDIA changed in the 20 years the programme has been running for? Were its goals different in 1989 from what they are today?
7. What are the problems faced by the European cinematic industry that MEDIA is trying to resolve? In what areas has MEDIA been more and less effective?
8. MEDIA does not support the production of films directly – but would you say it has contributed to the increasing number of films produced in Europe in the last years, by supporting project development and training, among other activities?
9. Has European cinema started by being perceived as a sort of "cultural airbus"? I mean, have European films been used in EU cultural policy as a way to compete with American domination?
10. Has this opposition between European and American cinema changed over time?
11. In this sense, how has the role of Europe as a global actor evolved over time?
12. Does the new international dimension of MEDIA (MEDIA International, MEDIA Mundus), influence the position of European cinema and Europe as a cinematic territory in the world?

III. MEDIA: budget and funding mechanisms

13. One of the main objectives of MEDIA is to "to strive for a stronger European audiovisual sector, reflecting and respecting Europe's cultural identity and heritage". Would you say MEDIA has placed a stronger emphasis on unity or diversity? Has that changed over the years?
14. More than half of the budget of MEDIA 2007 has been allocated to the distribution of films. Taking into account your knowledge of the evolution of the programme, how would you justify this?
15. Today, do regional alliances in European cinema influence the applications for funding (i.e., Northern European alliances; Eastern European alliances) – more, less, or in the same way as before?
16. According to your experience, are national and regional agencies good partners when it comes to supporting the circulation of European films?
17. Croatia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland are non EU-member states but have joined MEDIA 2007. Why is it important to have candidate countries in cultural programmes such as this one?

18. Turkey is the most notable candidate country. In your opinion, would it be of advantage to include it in next stages of MEDIA, or in other audiovisual related initiatives?
19. Could you give me an example of a film supported by MEDIA that has been particularly successful? In what ways is that success expressed?
20. European films supported by MEDIA always have, of course, a strong national character. A film like *Sophie Scholl*, for instance, which narrates a story with a strong national importance – in what ways can it be seen as "European"? (tension between regional, national and pan-European characterisation of films – mention Europudding?)

Interview 2

Information Society and Media Directorate-General G (DG INFSO)

Introduction

This interview is divided into three main sections: institutional level (DG INFSO and other European Commission institutions), European cinema (state of the art and films supported) and finally, promotion and communication of MEDIA.

I. Institutional level

1. Could you please explain, in general terms, what is the mission of DG INFSO and your role within it?
2. Considering the function of the DG INFSO within the European Commission, what would you say are the main goals it has achieved so far? What are the main problems it has encountered?
3. There was a re-structuring of DGs in 2004, when the DG Information Society was expanded to include MEDIA. What are the effects of these changes at Commission and DG level?
4. Cinema is now included in DG INFSO – what does it mean, what does it entail?
5. Do you think these changes are helpful or disruptive to MEDIA? Do they threaten the continuity of the programme?
6. There are a large number of think tanks and independent conferences on the audiovisual industries in Europe. Is policy-making, at Commission level,

inclusive? To what extent are people from the industry heard? How important is it to hear people working in the industry? Has this changed over the years – has it become more or less important at particular moments?

II. European cinema: unity and diversity

7. Has European cinema started by being perceived as a sort of "cultural airbus"? I mean, have European films been used in EU cultural policy as a way to compete with American domination?
8. Has this opposition between European and American cinema changed over time?
9. In this sense, how has the role of Europe as a global actor evolved?
10. Does the new international dimension of MEDIA (MEDIA International, MEDIA Mundus), influence the position of European cinema and Europe as a cinematic territory in the world?
11. Croatia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland are non EU-member states but have signed MEDIA 2007. Is it important to have candidate countries in cultural programmes such as this one? Why is that? Even more so today?
12. Turkey is the most notable candidate country. In your opinion, would it be of advantage to include it in next stages of MEDIA, or in other audiovisual related initiatives?

III. Promotion and communication of MEDIA

13. One of the major criticisms on European cinema in recent years, and that derives from European audiovisual policies, is the proliferation of "Euro-puddings". A recent example is *Merry Christmas.* Do you hear this expression often? What does it mean for you?
14. One of the main objectives of MEDIA is to "to strive for a stronger European audiovisual sector, reflecting and respecting Europe's cultural identity and heritage". Considering the types of films supported, would you say MEDIA has placed a stronger emphasis on unity or diversity? Has this changed over the years?
15. When people ask what is MEDIA, and what kind of films it supports, what films come to your mind? Are those different from European films in general?

16. Could you give me one or two examples of particularly successful European films? How is that success measured?
17. Which films are easy/difficult to promote? Why? (And is MEDIA easy to promote today?)
18. In recent years, there has also been an increasing investment in the promotion of MEDIA. Why would you say it is important to do so?
19. In 2007, the European Commission produced five short films for the promotion of MEDIA. What was the objective of those films and how were they prepared?
20. Is this sort of initiative (promotion) successful? Are other initiatives being prepared?
21. The clips were presented in Berlin, one of the most important film festivals in Europe. At the same time, MEDIA has also been supporting film festivals. Why is that?
22. Another feature of events of that kind is the presence of stars. Are there European stars? Are they important for the development of a European audiovisual industry?

Interview 3

DG INFSO - Unit: Audiovisual Policy – State Aid + Film Heritage

Script as above.

Interview 4

European Commission – DG EAC

Introduction

This interview is divided into three main sections: institutional level (DG EAC and other European Commission institutions), European identity (motto unity and diversity) and EU cultural policy.

I. Institutional level

1. Could you please explain, in general terms, what is the mission of DG EAC and your role within it?

2. Considering the function of the DG EAC within the European Commission, and your unit in particular, what would you say are the main goals it has achieved so far? What are the main problems it has encountered?
3. There was a re-structuring of DGs in 2004, when DG Information Society was expanded to include MEDIA, previously under DG EAC. What are the effects of the changes at Commission and DG level?
4. Cinema is now included in DG INFSO – what does it mean, what does it entail?
5. At the Commission level, have the audiovisual industries been perceived more as a commodity or as a cultural product? How has that changed over the years? ("airbus"? – EU vs. US)
6. There are a large number of think tanks and independent conferences on the audiovisual industries in Europe. Is policy-making, at Commission level, inclusive? To what extent are people working in culture heard?

II. European identity, unity and diversity

7. According to political scientists, from an essentialist perception of European identity we now witness a constructivist one. In other words, instead of trying to define Europe, the EU is now interested in building an idea of Europe. Would you agree that European identity is a main concern of the European Commission at the moment?
8. Has the need for a European identity increased/decreased/stayed the same in recent years? How relevant is it today?
9. In this identity-building process, how has the balance between EU and civil society (namely, artists, or filmmakers, in the case of cinema) changed over the years?
10. Is it possible to define, in general terms, a European culture? Has that become easier or more difficult over the years?
11. Would you say that European identity is central to Europe but not exclusive to the EU? If so, does this not undermine the EU?
12. In his "Political Guidelines for the next Commission", President Barroso affirms: "I have a passion for Europe. […] It is based on the values of peace, freedom, justice and solidarity, and it must mean advancing people's Europe". Are these values too general?

13. What, according to you, is the role of cultural policy in "advancing people's Europe"?
14. In another section of his "Political guidelines for the next Commission", President Barroso says he believes in a Europe "that protects and promotes its diversity as the essence of our identity". One of the official symbols of the Union listed in the Lisbon Treaty is the motto "unity in diversity". Has there been a greater emphasis on diversity in recent years? Or, on the contrary, on unity?
15. How, from your experience, have the cultural policies promoted by the European Commission, engaged, throughout its different phases, with the expression "unity in diversity"?

III. Culture and the European integration process

16. A few years ago, Jean Monnet was reported to having said: "If I would start again, I would start with culture". Is this quote relevant for EU cultural policy today?
17. On a visit to Canada in January this year, Mrs. Odile Quintin stated: "speaking of culture in Europe, is to speak of the European project itself". What is the importance of culture in the European integration process? How has it been evolving over the years?
18. What are the most important initiatives (culture) in this area?
19. Would you say culture, and cinema in particular, has a role in the definition/construction of the European identity (and/or culture)? If so, what would that be? How has that changed over the years?
20. How did the enlargement of 2004 and the collaboration with candidate states influence cultural policies within the EU?
21. Croatia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland are non EU-member states but have signed MEDIA 2007. Why is it important to have candidate countries in cultural programmes such as this one?
22. Turkey is the most notable candidate country. You have met with Dussen Kasseinov, Director-General of The Joint Administration of Turkic Arts and Culture. In your opinion, would it be of advantage to include Turkey in next stages of MEDIA, or other EU cultural programmes?

APPENDIX C

Original and English titles, directors, countries of production and years of all films listed in this thesis, presented in alphabetical order.

1492: *Conquest of Paradise* (Ridley Scott, FR/SP, 1992)
2 days in Paris (Julie Delpy, FR/GER, 2007)
25 degrés en hiver/25 Degrees in Winter (Stéphane Vuillet, BG/FR/RU/SP, 2004)
4 luni, 3 saptamâni si 2 zile/4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days (Cristian Mungiu, RO, 2007)
8 Femmes/8 Women (François Ozon, FR/IT, 2002)
A fost sau n-a fost?/12:08 East of Bucharest (Corneliu Poromboiu, RO, 2006)
Adams æbler/Adam's Apples (Anders Thomas Jensen, DA, 2005)
Ae fond kiss (Ken Loach, UK/BE/GER/IT/SP, 2004)
Alatriste (Agustin Diaz Yanes, SP/FR/US, 2006)
Alice (Marco Martins, PT, 2005)
Angel (François Ozon, FR/BE/UK, 2006)
Artemisia (Agnès Merlet, FR/GE/IT, 1997)
Astérix et les Vikings/Astérix and the Vikings (Stefan Fjeldmark, Jesper Møller, FR/DA, 2006)
Auf der anderen Seite/The Edge of Heaven (Fatih Akin, GER/TUR/IT, 2007)
Batalla en el Cielo/*Battle in Heaven* (Carlos Reygadas, FR/MEX/BE/GER, 2004)
Becoming Jane (Julian Jarrold, UK/US, 2006)
Belle de jour (Luis Buñuel, FR/IT, 1967)
Belle toujours (Manoel de Oliveira, PT/FR, 2006)
Billy Elliot (Stephen Daldry, UK/FR, 2000)
Birdwatchers – La terra degli uomini rossi/Birdwatchers (Marco Bechis, IT/BR, 2008)
Blow-Up (Michelangelo Antonioni, UK/IT/US, 1966)
Brasileirinho (Mika Kaurismäki, FI, 2004)
Breaking the waves (Lars von Trier, DA/SE/FR/NL/NO/IC, 1996)
Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason (Beeban Kidron, UK/FR/GER/IE/US, 2004)
Brødre/Brothers (Susanne Bier, DA/UK/SE/NO, 2004)
Buongiorno, Notte/Good Morning, Night (Marco Bellocchio, IT, 2003)

Caché/Hidden (Michael Haneke, FR/AT/GER/IT/US, 2005)

Caos Calmo/Quiet Chaos (Antonello Grimaldi, IT/UK, 2008)

Caótica Ana/Chaotic Ana (Julio Medem, SP, 2007)

Capitães de Abril/Captains of April (Maria de Medeiros, SP/IT/FR/PT, 2000)

Carlos/Carlos the Jackal (Olivier Assayas, FR/GER, 2010)

Cashback (Sean Ellis, UK, 2006)

Ceský sen/Czech Dream (Vít Klusák and Filip Remunda, CZ, 2004)

Closer (Mike Nichols, US, 2004)

Crossing the Bridge – The Sound of Istanbul (Fatih Akin, FR/GER, 2005)

Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari/The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari (Robert Wiene, GER, 1920)

Das Leben der Anderen/The Lives of Others (Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck, GER, 2006)

De battre mon coeur s'est arrêté/The beat that my heart skipped (Jacques Audiard, FR, 2005)

De ofrivilliga/Involuntary (Ruben Östlund, SE, 2008)

Dear Wendy (Thomas Vinterberg, DA/FR/GER/UK, 2005)

Delta (Kornél Mundruczó, HU/GER, 2008)

Den brysomme mannen/The Bothersome Man (Per Schreiner, NO/IS, 2006)

Der Baader Meinhof Komplex/The Baader Meinhof Complex (Uli Edel, GER/FR/CZ, 2008)

Der Untergang/Downfall (Oliver Hirschbiegel, GER/AT/IT, 2004)

Die Fälscher/The Counterfeiters (Stefan Ruzowitzky, AT/GER, 2007)

Die Höhle des gelben Hundes/The Cave of the yellow dog (Byambasuren Davaa, GER, 2005)

Die Welle/The Wave (Dennis Gansel, GER, 2008)

Direktøren for det hele/The Boss of it All (Lars von Trier, DA/SE, 2006)

Doppo Mezzanotte/After Midnight (Davide Ferrario, IT, 2004)

Dot.com (Luis Galvão Teles, PT/BR, 2007)

Du levande/You, the Living (Roy Andersson, SE, 2006)

Efter brylluppet/After the Wedding (Susanne Bier, DA/SE, 2006)

El laberinto del fauno/Pan's Labyrinth (Guillermo del Toro, SP/MEX/US, 2006)

El sueño de una noche de San Juan/Midsummer dream (Ángel De La Cruz, Manolo Gómez, SP, 2003)

Elementarteilchen/Atomised (Oskar Roehler, GER, 2006)

Elle s'appelle Sabine (Sandrine Bonnaire, FR, 2007)

Emma's Glück/Emma's Bliss (Sven Taddicken, GER, 2006)

En soap/A Soap (Pernille Fischer Christensen, DA, 2006)

Entre les murs/The Class (Laurent Cantet, FR, 2008)

Europa (Lars von Trier, SP/DA/SW/FR/GER/CH, 1997)

Ex Drummer (Koen Mortier, BE, 2007)

Exils/Exiles (Tony Gatlif, FR/JP, 2004)

Factotum (Bent Hamer, NO/GER/US/DA, 2005)

Fish Tank (Andrea Arnold, UK/NL, 2009)

Forbrydelser/In Your Hands (Annette K. Olesen, DA, 2003)

Franklin et le trésor du Lac/Franklin and the Turtle Lake Treasure (Dominique Monfery, FR, 2006)

Frontière(s)/Frontier(s) (Xavier Gens, FR/CH, 2007)

Funny Face (Stanley Donen, US, 1957)

Funny games (remake) (Michael Haneke, UK/US/FR, 2007)

GAL (Miguel Courtois, SP, 2006)

Ganhar a Vida (João Canijo, PT/FR, 2001)

Garage (Leonard Abrahamson, IE/UK, 2007)

Gegen die Wand/Head-on (Fatih Akin, GER/TK, 2004)

Girl with a Pearl Earring (Peter Webber, UK/LUX, 2003)

Gomorra/Gomorrah (Matteo Garrone, IT, 2008)

Good Bye Lenin! (Wolfgang Becker, GER, 2003)

Goodbye Bafana (Bille August, GER/FR/BE/UK/IT/SA, 2006)

Goya's Ghosts (Milos Forman, US/SP, 2006)

Habana Blues (Benito Zambrano, SP/CUB/FR, 2005)

Happy go-lucky (Mike Leigh, UK, 2008)

Home (Ursula Meier, CH/FR/BE, 2008)

Hunger (Steve McQueen, UK/IE, 2008)

Il divo (Paolo Sorrentino, IT/FR, 2008)

Il Postino/The Postman (Michael Radford, IT/FR/BE, 1994)

Ils (David Moreau, Xavier Palud, FR/RO, 2006)

Import/Export (Ulrich Seidl, AT/FR/GER, 2007)

In this world (Michael Winterbottom, UK, 2002)

Inglourious Basterds (Quentin Tarantino, US/GER, 2009)

Irina Palm (Sam Garbarski, BE/LUX/UK/GER/FR, 2007)

It's all gone Pete Tong (Michael Dowse, UK/CAN, 2004)

Johanna (Kornél Mundruczó, HU, 2005)

Joyeux Noël/Merry Christmas (Christian Carion, FR/GER/BE/UK/RO, 2005)

Kærlighed på film/Just another love story (Ole Bornedal, DA, 2007)

Kirikou et les bêtes sauvages/Kirikou & the wild beasts (Michel Ocelot, Bénédicte Galup, FR, 2005)

L'Armée du crime/Army of Crime (Robert Guédiguian, FR, 2009)

L'Auberge Espagnole/Pot Luck (Cédric Klapisch, FR/SP, 2002)

L'Enfer/Hell (Denis Tanovic, FR/IT/BE/JP, 2005)

La Haine (Mathieu Kassovitz, FR, 1995)

La Mala Educación/Bad Education (Pedro Almodóvar, SP, 2004)

La meglio gioventù/The Best of Youth (Marco Tullio Giordana, IT, 2003)

La Môme/La Vie en rose (Olivier Dahan, FR/UK/CZ, 2007)

La Planète Blanche/The White Planet (Jean Lemire, Thierry Piantanida, Thierry Ragobert, FR/CAN, 2006)

La Science des Rêves/The Science of Sleep (Michel Gondry, FR/UK/IT, 2006)

La Vida Secreta de las Palabras/The Secret life of words (Isabel Coixet, SP, 2005)

La vita è bella/Life is Beautiful (Roberto Benigni, IT, 1997)

La Zona (Rodrigo Plá, SP/ARG/MEX, 2007)

Lady Chatterley (Pascale Ferran, FR/BE/UK, 2005)

Laitakaupungin valot/Lights in the Dusk (Aki Kaurismäki, FI/GER/FR, 2005)

Land and Freedom (Ken Loach, UK/SP/GER/IT, 1995)

Las 13 Rosas/13 Roses (Emilio Martínez Lázaro, SP, 2007)

Last Resort (Pawel Pawlikowski, UK, 2000)

Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain/Amélie (Jean-Pierre Jeunet, FR/GER, 2001)

Le Fils de l'épicier/The Grocer's Son (Eric Guirado, FR, 2007)

Le Fils/The Son (Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne, BE/FR, 2002)

Le premier jour du reste de ta vie/The first day of the rest of your life (Rémi Bezançon, FR, 2008)

Le Serpent/The Snake (Eric Barbier, FR, 2006)

Le Silence de Lorna/The Silence of Lorna (Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne, BE/FR/IT/GER, 2006)

Le Temps qui reste/Time to Leave (François Ozon, FR, 2005)

Lemming (Dominik Moll, FR, 2005)

Les Choristes/The Chorus (Christophe Barratier, FR/CH/GER, 2004)

Les Poupées Russes/Russian Dolls (Cédric Klapisch, FR/UK, 2005)

Les triplettes de Belleville/Belleville Rendez Vous (Sylvain Chomet, FR/BE/CAN/UK, 2003)

Lichter/Distant Lights (Hans-Christian Schmid, GER, 2003)

Lilja 4-Ever/Lilya 4-Ever (Lukas Moodysson, SE/DA, 2002)

Lisbon Story (Wim Wenders, GER/PT, 1994)

Lola rennt/Run Lola Run (Tom Tykwer, GER, 1998)

Love Actually (Richard Curtis, UK/US, 2003)

Ma vie en rose/My life in pink (Alain Berliner, FR/BE/UK, 1997)

Manderlay (Lars von Trier, DA/SE/NL/FR/GER/UK, 2005)

Manolete (Menno Meyjes, SP/UK/US/FR, 2007)

Mar Adentro/The Sea Inside (Alejandro Amenábar, SP/FR/IT, 2004)

Maradona by Kusturica (Emir Kusturica, SP/FR, 2008)

Masjävlar/Dalecarlians (Maria Blom, SE, 2004)

Match Point (Woody Allen, UK, 2005)

Max & Co (Samuel Guillaume, Frédéric Guillaume, CH, 2007)

Mies vailla menneisyyttä/The Man Without a Past (Aki Kaurismäki, FI/GER/FR, 2002)

Mio fratello è figlio unico/My Brother is an Only Child (Daniele Luchetti, IT/FR, 2007)

Moartea domnului Lazarescu/The Death of Mr. Lazarescu (Cristi Puiu, RO, 2005)

Molière (Laurent Tirard, FR, 2006)

Mondays in the Sun/Los Lunes al Sol (Fernando León de Aranoa, SP/FR/IT, 2002)

Mrs Henderson Presents (Stephen Frears, UK, 2005)

My beautiful laundrette (Stephen Frears, UK, 1985)

My name is Joe (Ken Loach, SP/IT/FR/UK/GER, 1998)

My Summer of Love (Pawel Pawlikowski, UK, 2004)

Niko - Lentäjän poika/Niko & The Way to the Stars (Michael Hegner, Kari Juusonen FI/DA/GER/IE, 2008)

No Body is Perfect (Raphael Sibilla, FR, 2006)

No Man's Land (Daniel Tanovic, BH/SLO/IT/FR/UK/BE, 2001)

Nói albínói/Noi the Albino (Dagur Kári, IC/GER/UK/DA, 2003)

Nuovomondo/Nuovomondo – The Golden Door (Emanuele Crialese, IT/FR, 2006)

Nyöcker/The District (Aron Gauder, HU, 2004)

O'Horten (Bent Hamer, NO/GER/FR, 2007)

Obsluhoval Jsem Anglického Krále/I Served the King of England (Jirí Menzel, CZ/SK, 2006)

Of Time and the City (Terence Davies, UK, 2008)

Ondskan/Evil (Mikael Håfström, SE/DA, 2003)

Paisà/Paisan (Roberto Rossellini, IT, 1946)

Paradise Now (Hany Abu-Assad, PAL/FR/GER/NL/ISR, 2005)

Paris (Cédric Klapisch, FR, 2008)

Paris je t'aime (Olivier Assayas, Frédéric Auburtin, Emmanuel Benbihy, Gurinder Chadha, Sylvain Chomet, Ethal Coen, Joel Coen, Isabel Coixet, Wes Craven, Alfonso Cuarón, Gérard Dépardieu, Christopher Doyle, Richard LaGravenese, Vincenzo Natali, Alexander Payne, Bruno Podalydès, Walter Salles, Oliver Schmitz, Nobuhiro Suwa, Daniela Thomas, Tom Tykwer, Gus Van Sant, FR/LI/CH, 2006)

Paris vu par (Claude Chabrol, Jean Douchet, Jean-Luc Godard, Jean-Daniel Pollet, Eric Rohmer, Jean Rouch, FR, 1965)

Paris vu par… vingts ans après (Chantal Akerman, Bernard Dubois, Philippe Garrel, Frédéric Miterrand, Vincent Nordon, Philippe Venault, FR, 1984)

Perfume: The Story of a Murderer (Tom Tykwer, GER/FR/SP/US, 2006)

Persepolis (Marjane Satrapi, Vincent Paronnaud, FR, 2007)

Politiki Kouzina/A touch of spice (Tassos Boulmetis, GR/TUR, 2003)

Pranzo di Ferragosto/Mid-August Lunch (Gianni Di Gregorio, IT, 2008)

Princesas/Princesses (Fernando León de Aranoa, SP, 2005)

Quelques jours en Septembre/A few days in September (Santiago Amigorena, IT/FR/PT, 2006)

REC (Jaume Balagueró, Paco Plaza, SP, 2007)

Red Road (Andrea Arnold, UK/DA, 2005)

Renart, le renard/Renart the fox (Thierry Schiel, FR, 2005)

Requiem (Hans-Christian Schmid, GER, 2006)

Retour en Normandie/Back to Normandy (Nicolas Philibert, FR, 2005)

Revanche (Götz Spielmann, AT, 2008)

Riparo – Anis tra di noi/Shelter (Marco Simon Puccioni, IT/FR, 2006)

Rocco e i suoi fratelli/Rocco and his brothers (Luchino Visconti, IT/FR, 1960)

Rumba (Dominique Abel, Fiona Gordon, Bruno Remy, FR/BE, 2008)

Så som i himmelen/As it is in heaven (Kay Pollak, SE, 2004)

Salvador (Manuel Huerga, SP/UK, 2006)

Savage Grace (Tom Kalin, SP/US/FR, 2007)

Secrets & Lies (Mike Leigh, FR/UK, 1996)

Sehnsucht/Longing (Valeska Grisebach, GER, 2006)

Shakespeare in Love (John Madden, US/UK, 1998)

Shooting Dogs (Michael Caton-Jones, UK/GER, 2005)

Sliding Doors (Peter Howitt, UK/US, 1998)

Slumdog Millionaire (Danny Boyle, UK, 2008)

Somers Town (Shane Meadows, UK, 2008)

Sommersturm/Summer Storm (Marco Kreuzpaintner, GER, 2004)

Sophie Scholl – Die Letzten Tage/Sophie Scholl – The Last Days (Marc Rothermund, GER, 2005)

Sorstalansag/Fateless (Lajos Koltai, HU/GER/UK, 2004)

Strings (Anders Rønnow Klarlund, DA/SE/NO/UK, 2004)

Svetat e golyam i spasenie debne otvsyakade/The World is big and salvation lurks around the corner (Stephan Komandarev, BE/GER/HU/SI, 2008)

Sweet Sixteen (Ken Loach, UK/GER/SP, 2002)

Sztuczki/Tricks (Andrjez Jakimowski, PL, 2007)

Taxidermia (György Pálfi, HU/AT/FR, 2006)

Te doy mis ojos/Take My Eyes (Icíar Bollaín, SP, 2003)

Ted and Sylvia (Christine Jeffs, UK, 2003)

Terkel I Knibe/Terkel in trouble (Stefan Fjeldmark, DA, 2004)

The Artist (Michel Hazanavicious, FR/BE, 2011)

The Broken (Sean Ellis, FR/UK, 2008)

The Dreamers (Bernardo Bertolucci, FR/UK/IT, 2003)

The King's Speech (Tom Hooper, UK, 2010)

The Magic Flute (Kennethn Branagh, FR, 2006)

The Pianist (Roman Polanski, FR/GER/UK/POL, 2002)

The Road to Guantanamo (Michael Winterbottom, UK, 2006)

The Ugly duckling and me (Michael Hegner, Karsten Kiilerich, FR/GER/IE/UK/DA, 2006)

Tiro en la Cabeza/Bullet in the Head (Jaime Rosales, SP/FR, 2008)

Todo sobre mi madre/All About My Mother (Pedro Almodóvar, SP/FR, 1999)

Torremolinos 73 (Pablo Berger, SP/DA, 2003)

Transe/Trance (Teresa Villaverde, IT/RU/FR/PT, 2006)

Transylvania (Tony Gatlif, FR, 2006)

Trilogia II: I skoni tou hronou/The Dust of Time (Theo Angelopolous, GR/IT/GER/RO, 2008)

Trois couleurs: blanc/Three Colours: White (Krzysztof Kieslowski, FR/PL/CH, 1994)

Trois couleurs: bleu/Three Colours: Blue (Krzysztof Kieslowski, FR/PL/CH, 1993)

Trois couleurs: rouge/Three Colours: Red (Krzysztof Kieslowski, FR/PL/CH, 1994)

Tvrdjava Evropa/The Fortress Europe (Zelimir Zilnik, SI, 2001)

Ultimo Tango a Parigi/Last Tango in Paris (Bernardo Bertolucci, IT/FR, 1972)

Un conte de Noël/A Christmas Tale (Arnaud Desplechin, FR, 2008)

Un héros très discret/A Self-Made Hero (Jacques Audiard, FR, 1996)

Vers le Sud/Heading South (Laurent Cantet, FR/CAN, 2005)

Vicky Cristina Barcelona (Woody Allen, SP/US, 2008)

Vincere (Marco Bellocchio, IT/FR, 2009)

Viva Zapatero! (Sabina Guzzanti, IT, 2005)

Voksne mennesker/Dark Horse (Dagur Kári, DA/IC, 2005)

Volver (Pedro Almodóvar, SP, 2005)

Vozvrashchenie/The Return (Andrey Zvyagintsev, RU, 2003)

Waltz with Bashir (Ari Folman, GER/IL/FR, 2008)

Wesele/The Wedding (Wojciech Smarzowski, PO, 2004)

Zwartboek/Blackbook (Paul Verhoeven, NL/GER/BE, 2006)